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The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

MAY, 1951

WILLIAM GREEN, Editor

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Human Values

We live in an age in which civilization has become largely identified with mechanization. Machines, engines, gadgets, technology and power are the basis of the structure of our economic society. The pressing of buttons and the pulling of levers control the commercial and industrial dynamics of modern life.

In this age of the power of machines we need to recognize the power of ideas. In this age of mechanical invention we need the adaptations of political and social inventions. In this age of scientific mechanism we need the saving values of spiritual idealism.

The world of science, of things, of machines and gadgets crowds hard upon the conception of both God and man. The world of science, technology and things needs the saving balance and deeper meaning of the liberal arts, the humane tradition and the spiritual conception of man and the universe.

Without a sense of values, ethical and humane, and without the insights of the human spirit, the discoveries of one generation become glibly exalted above the wisdom and insights of 100 generations.

Modern science, industrialism and materialism need the balance of the humane and social studies, need philosophy and religion to prevent a destructive impact upon the conception of the freedom, dignity, integrity and moral autonomy of the individual human being.

The conceptions of the modern scientific age have contributed greatly to the knowledge and progress of man and civilization but deeply need an emphasis on the sovereignty of the moral law, moral values beyond science, ethical ideas above force and totalitarian power, and spiritual insights which will make a deeper and wider synthesis—a new integration of old and new ideas in the unity of learning, the unity of human personality, the unity of mankind, the unity of the universe—one world, one family, one God.

Frank P. Graham.

THIS MONTH'S COVER

A union linotype operator. The setting of type by machine has greatly increased the production of printed matter. Three Lions.

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Labor Policy Committee discussions with President Truman led to the correction of some injustices

MAKING PROGRESS

THE United Labor Policy Committee voted unanimously on April 30 for the immediate return of labor representatives to all defense agencies.

A statement issued by the Policy Committee said:

"In the two months since labor representatives withdrew from defense posts, a significant change of attitude has taken place in Washington. Considerable progress has been made in correcting unjust and unworkable procedures, but much remains to be done.

"We anticipate that substantive progress can now be made through the cooperative efforts of labor, management and farm representatives within the mobilization agencies.

"The defense mobilization program, the 15,000,000 American workers we represent and the American people as a whole will benefit from the policy changes which have resulted from the protest by labor against Big Business domination of defense agencies.

"We do not want to give the impression that the United Labor Policy Committee is now satisfied with all defense policies or programs. On the contrary, further fundamental improvements are imperative. The cards are still stacked against the consuming public.

"The remedy for these wrongs lies in more vigorous price regulations and even more with Congress. Labor and every other group in the nation must now undertake a new campaign for constructive action by Congress."

With the return of labor to the defense agencies, A. F. of L. Vice-President George M. Harrison, who is president of the Brotherhood of Rail-

way Clerks, was named to the post of deputy to Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson. Previously he was an assistant to Eric Johnston, Economic Stabilization Director, who operates at a level below Mr. Wilson.

The Wage Stabilization Board was reconstituted with eighteen members and with the power, which the old Board did not have, to handle all disputes which substantially affect defense production. The United Labor Policy Committee emphasized that the new Board will be expected to modify the previous inflexible wage formula and to "adopt policies giving justice and equity to wage-earners."

Of the six labor members of the reconstituted Wage Stabilization Board, three are from the American Federation of Labor and three from the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The A. F. of L. members are President Harry C. Bates of the Bricklayers, President W. C. Birth-

right of the Barbers and Vice-President Elmer E. Walker of the Machinists. Mr. Bates and Mr. Birthright are also A. F. of L. vice-presidents.

The chairman of the new Board is Dr. George W. Taylor, who served on the War Labor Board during World War II.

President A. J. Hayes of the Machinists went back to the post of special assistant to Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg. He held this post at the time of labor's withdrawal.

In addition, the A. F. of L. is to name a deputy to Price Stabilization Director Michael V. DiSalle and the C.I.O. will nominate an assistant administrator for the National Production Administration.

David J. McDonald, secretary of the C.I.O. United Steel Workers, takes George Harrison's old position as assistant to Eric Johnston.



George Harrison (left) was named deputy to Mobilizer C. E. Wilson. Harry Bates and W. C. Birthright (right) join enlarged Wage Board

ASIA AND EUROPE: BOTH ARE VITAL

by William Green

TODAY the menace of Communist imperialism presents the entire free world with a clear and immediate danger. If there was once a time when vain hopes and wishful thoughts could be safely indulged, that time is past. If we now prepare for the worst, we are not likely to be disappointed.

The first shot fired into the back of the free Republic of Korea should have sufficed to awaken the most distant and complacent of nations to an awareness of peril—if any new alarm were still required at so late a stage. That vicious attack was aimed not at one small republic only but at the institution of human freedom itself.

Regardless of subsequent events, it will stand to the everlasting credit of this nation that it acted with supreme courage in the face of this critical challenge to its role as the champion of liberty and international morality.

In rallying the moral and material support of the United Nations to the defense of Korea, it accomplished an unprecedented feat of diplomacy. It gave renewed confidence to all who stand for freedom and decency against heavy odds elsewhere in the world.

If this brutal crime against humanity had been allowed, through our default, to find reward rather than retribution, we would be meeting here tonight in desperation rather than in hope. The moral and physical defenses of the free world would have suffered an irreparable breach. The will to resist aggression in India, in Iran, in Western Europe—in every nation around the whole circumference of communism—would have been undermined.

It is well to remember that fact when these issues are drawn into the arena of partisan contention, to be re-examined in the clear light of hind-



PRESIDENT GREEN

sight. It is well to remember also, when tardy voices are raised in criticism of the decision which committed us to the defense of Korea, that our own freedom would have been lost long ago if it had been left in the charge of the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot.

The vital questions today are concerned with the future rather than the past. The next steps are the important ones.

Honest men may disagree on what these steps should be. But all responsible citizens must surely agree that there can be no drawing back on our part at this late date in the campaign against Communist aggression.

The basic, all-pervading issue today, on which there can be no disunity, is the clear and unmistakable one of survival versus extinction.

To relax our efforts and to indulge the comfortable illusion that the worst might be past would be to court extinction. To concentrate our forces unwisely, or to seek refuge in grand isolation, would be to assure it.

The dangers we face are impartial and non-partisan. Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, workers, farmers and industrialists—all share the common risk. The chains that are forged in Moscow are designed to fit all groups and individuals, without favor or privilege. We shall all be enchained together unless we prove capable of united resistance.

Out of the division and acrimony which surround us now, some workable basis must be found for a new popular front—a popular front against Soviet imperialism.

When the survival of freedom is finally assured, there will be time enough for the pursuit of partisan aims and ambitions. For the present, we have but too little time in which to take those necessary steps which will assure the survival of freedom—so that our normal pursuits may ultimately be resumed.

The line of battle in the fight for survival is not remote from any individual, though Korea is half a world away. It is a continuous line, extending from the front in Korea, back over the channels of communication and supply to Washington, to the factories, the farms, the shops and the homes of America.

Our line of defense extends through the front in Korea in a continuous chain around the entire globe. Korea is but one small segment of the full arc of Communist encirclement and pressure.

The military aggression in Korea is but one of the manifold forces which the Communist conspiracy has set in motion to challenge the peace and security of the free world. Our military endeavors are no more than one phase of the general campaign which will be required to frustrate those

forces. Korea is a small part of the universal pattern of Communist aggression, a pattern which includes systematic obstructionism in the United Nations, sporadic violence in India, a Moscow-inspired civil war in Indo-China, the cynical Stockholm petition campaign in the United States, sabotage in England and Western Germany, threats against Iran, the exploitation of race-hatred in Asia and Africa, and all the other uses to which slander, subversion, sabotage and civil strife lend themselves.

It is an old formula, in particularly expert hands—exploit every weakness, divide and conquer.

The constant threat of attack by the forces of communism should be apparent to all. What is not so apparent is where the next blow is likely to fall and what form it will take. We can only be sure that it will probably strike at what the Kremlin considers to be our point of greatest weakness, wherever that might be at any given time. To concentrate all our strength and attention upon any one area is to invite an attack upon other vital areas.

The issue will not be resolved by any simple means, nor by any single classic military maneuver, no matter how brilliantly executed.

The enlightened defense of the free world today is the most complex task ever undertaken by man. It encompasses the entire range of human activities—political, social, economic, as well as military.

The international activities of free trade unions, the Marshall Plan, the Point Four program, the Voice of America and grain for the starving masses of India are as much a part

This address by Mr. Green was delivered April 17 in Washington at a dinner conference of the Council Against Communist Aggression.

of it as the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance and the United Nations action in Korea. Success in any of these spheres can be more than offset by failure or neglect in another. They all involve contact with instruments and avenues of Communist expansion and aggression.

It is vain to debate the relative importance of Asia and Europe in the strategy of opposition to communism.

We cannot afford to indulge the luxury of a choice between the two. Nor can we safely concentrate on any one set of weapons—military, economic, political or moral—in this conflict. Both areas are vital and all the weapons we can muster are needed.

We must attain military superiority all along our entire line of defense. We must develop a system of working unity with all the free nations of the world, in Asia as well as Europe. We must expand our programs of economic assistance and development, so as to give the masses of the world a genuine stake in freedom, and to demonstrate the superiority of democracy over Communist despotism.

These primary tasks are sufficient to absorb all our energies and resources for a long time to come. They will require foresight, sacrifice and courage of a high order.

The price is high, but no price is too great to pay for the preservation of human decency, liberty and world peace.

Our only concern must be to see that we receive full value in return for the price we pay, by disposing of our resources and forces in such a manner as to best contribute to the ends we seek.

A Timely and Important Book

A MOST timely book has just been published by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor. It is entitled "Soviet Imperialism Plunders Asia." Not a large book, it is extremely meaty and tremendously valuable for an understanding of the Kremlin's far-flung conspiracy against Asia. Every intelligent citizen should read this penetrating volume, which consists of seven illuminating chapters, a very fine introduction by Chairman Matthew Woll of the Free Trade Union Committee and, in an appendix, the official declarations of the American Federation of Labor on Asia since its 1949 convention.

"Soviet Imperialism Plunders Asia" points out that Communist Russia is following a plan conceived long ago to turn the whole world into a prison. Already the Kremlin's imperialistic conquests have given Russia many millions of square miles in Eastern Europe and in Asia, the Free Trade Union Committee's publication notes, adding:

"From behind these new bastions of her advance she is poised, as on a springboard, ready for further aggrandizement against either the weak and powerless or the naive and too-trusting."

The Communists' aggression in Korea has brought the world to the very brink of World War III. Will global war be precipitated? The choice at the present time is in the hands of the Communists who, as the book points out, are not concerned with the desires of a war-weary world for peace and are not influenced in the least by ethical or moral considerations.

The whole story of Soviet imperialism in China is carefully traced. As always, the Stalin gang started with the camouflage of noble pronouncements. However, the hard-boiled acts followed not long afterward.

From the first, Stalin has wanted very badly to have China in his grip, considering its conquest essential to his aim of conquering and enslaving the rest of Asia—Korea, India, Indo-China, Pakistan, Indonesia, Iran, Afghanistan, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines and Japan—and then the rest of the world.

The Soviets are very definitely after India, the Free Trade Union Committee's book emphasizes. The handwriting is on the wall. The Communists have not concealed their intentions. It is therefore strange indeed, as the book observes, that Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian

leaders have pretended the danger isn't there. However, the recent rape of neighboring Tibet has opened the eyes of some of India's leaders.

"Soviet Imperialism Plunders Asia" urges the adoption of a realistic program on the part of the free world. It proposes that we continue to strive for world peace, but there must be no appeasement whatsoever; the lesson of Munich must never be forgotten. The free nations must unify their world approach, program and appeal, it is further suggested, and must shelve "piecemeal strategy."

The plan for peace and progress also calls for the maintenance of the moral basis of the United Nations, immediate implementation of the Point Four program and its British counterpart, the Colombo Plan; complete elimination of the remnants of colonialism, establishment of an All-Asian Alliance to pool the strength of the free Asian nations for their defense and the bringing together, in an "unbreakable" alliance like the Atlantic Pact, of the free countries of Asia and the West.

"Soviet Imperialism Plunders Asia" should be read throughout the world. It is one of the best publications issued so far by the Free Trade Union Committee.

CRISIS *in the* POSTAL SERVICE

By WILLIAM C. DOHERTY

*President, National Association of Letter Carriers;
Vice-President, American Federation of Labor*

CITIZENS from every walk of life are wondering what has happened to the United States postal service. They are asking why it takes two and even three times as long for mail to reach its destination as compared with the rapid delivery of former years.

For as long as the nation's postal establishment had been in operation, the mails had moved with certainty, celerity and efficiency. Everyone took for granted the near-miracle of dropping a letter in the corner mail box and having it delivered the next morning at its destination many hundreds of miles away.

What has happened to the U.S. postal service during the past twelve months? Why is your mail no longer collected, dispatched and delivered like clockwork, every day, without pause or hesitation? Why is it that practically every major newspaper in the country, including the labor press, at one time or another during the past year has been editorially critical of the postal service? Why must businessmen vainly attempt to placate irate customers because merchandise shipped through the mails

does not arrive for days or even weeks after mailing? Why is it that private correspondence is well on its way to becoming a lost art, because people have been forced to turn to other means of communication to keep in touch with their families and friends?

Why? What is at the bottom of the present postal crisis?

Briefly stated, and to use the vernacular, the postal service has gone to pot. It is no longer the sure, swift and efficient method of communication that it had been since the days of Ben Franklin. Today the postal service is slow, uncertain and inefficient. Moreover, it is costing fabulous sums of money to sustain this poor mail service, over and beyond the approximate \$12 every person in the country spends each year for stamps and other postal services.

The Postoffice Department is the world's biggest cash-and-carry business. Currently, net postal obligations exceed \$2,250,000,000 annually; a quarter of a million employees handled approximately 45,000,000 pieces of mail last year.

In any operation of such gigantic



MR. DOHERTY

proportions there are bound to be slip-ups and human errors. Yes, there is even bound to be some unavoidable waste in any agency that deals with astronomical figures in revenues, expenditures and personnel.

But bigness is not the reason why your postal service today is sagging. Down through the years the postal service was able to adjust itself to changing circumstances, new conditions. As mail volume increased, the machinery of the service was geared to handle such increases; sufficient equipment was made available to take care of the increased work-load; additional employes were hired to keep the mails moving through storm and blast, epidemic and disaster. The postal service literally grew up with our nation.

Postmasters General with better judgment than is being displayed by the present incumbent of this high position met each new situation with vision and foresight. Few before him ever lost sight of the service ideal that has been the tradition of the postal establishment.

Side by side with and accompanying the phenomenal growth of the postal service has been the unwavering determination of each succeeding Congress to expand the postal service and make its functions accessible to all of our people. Now all of that has been swept away.

The present postal crisis is the direct result of an arbitrary act of one man, namely, Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson. On April 17, 1950, he issued his infamous curtail-

ment order which reduced or eliminated integral phases of almost every important function of the postal service.

Mail deliveries were cut to one a day in residential and semi-commercial districts. Parcel post deliveries were cut in half. Directory service for misaddressed mail was completely eliminated. Hours of window service were shortened at postoffices and suburban stations. And collections of mail were put on a reduced schedule so as to delay all types of correspondence all along the line. Other restrictions originally incorporated in the Postmaster General's order were hastily withdrawn when influential mailers put pressure on local postmasters.

The combination of these ill-advised and unnecessary slashes has resulted in the worst mail service in the entire history of our nation. The U.S. postal service stands today raped and shorn of its once proud leadership in the field of communications. Donaldson has put the greatest and richest country on the face of the earth on a "slow motion" basis for mail service. He has provoked the taxpayers to utter irritation, while soaking them with the biggest postal cost in the history of the Department.

Poor mail service is an undesirable situation of many facets. It is irritating to business and inconvenient to private citizens who must depend on

good mail service for the orderly and proper progress of their lives. It is costly to the taxpayers because inefficiency and premium service always cost more than efficient service on a regular basis.

Over and beyond these considerations, poor mail service is especially sad in a nation which is spending billions of your tax dollars to rehabilitate friendly foreign governments and to restore and expand their lines of communication as a bulwark against the common enemy—communism.

SINCE the Postmaster General ordered the curtailment of mail under the pious guise of economy, it is a fair question to inquire if poor mail service actually has saved money. At various times since April of last year departmental spokesmen have solemnly claimed savings as a result of the mail curtailment program. Various and fantastic sums have been announced.

The latest pronouncement, however, is a lame admission that "because of extra expenditures due to increased mail volume and extensions of service it would be difficult to accurately estimate the actual savings, and no records have been maintained from which actual figures might be furnished." The last statement is probably more nearly the truth than any of the wild guesses heretofore published to show that savings re-

sulted from poor mail service. As a matter of fact, there is evidence to show that considerable savings could have been made by tightening up management procedures without resorting to the curtailment of mail deliveries.

Writing in the March issue of *The Postal Record*, the official journal of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Mr. James J. Doran, a veteran of forty-four years in the postal service, called attention to a report that had been submitted to the Postmaster General about the time of his April 17, 1950, order. This report, according to Mr. Doran, showed a wide discrepancy in the cost of handling various types of mail at different offices.

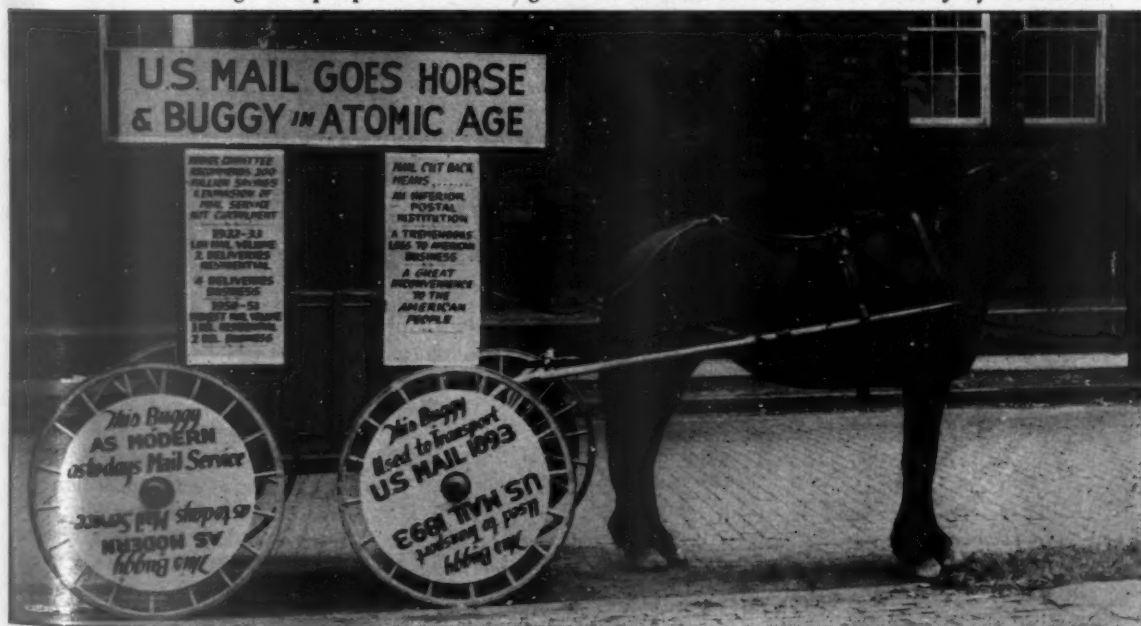
"Just imagine," he wrote, "spending \$5 for a piece of work in one office and getting that same piece of work done in another for \$2.75."

In further substantiation of his claim that good postal management would have made it unnecessary to curtail postal functions, Mr. Doran stated in his article:

"* * * if the report accurately portrays present conditions and costs in the twenty offices in question, savings of over \$45,000,000 a year could be made in the handling of first-class mail alone."

It is significant that Mr. Doran, during his long and honorable service in the postal establishment, held

In this streamlined age the people are receiving the worst mail service in the history of the nation





Splendid esprit de corps of the postal employees has been all but snuffed out by Donaldson order

many high positions, including the offices of chief inspector, director of the budget and planning, as well as director of rates. Certainly his record leaves no question of his credibility or ability to give a professional opinion on the curtailment of the mail service.

While the National Association of Letter Carriers has a deep and abiding interest in the type of mail service that is rendered the American people, we are at the same time very much concerned with the harmful effects of the present postal administration on our own membership.

The average letter carrier is not a heroic figure. His uniform is gray in color—hardly a hue to attract attention. Nonetheless, it has been said that few public servitors have a tougher job, none has a more profound sense of duty.

Prior to the curtailment of April 17, 1950, the letter carrier and his colleagues in the other branches of the postal service had an *esprit de corps* to match the high type of service the Postoffice Department was rendering the people of this nation. The stories are legion of postal employees who got the mails through despite rain, snow, heat and gloom of night. They were not thinking of themselves in the role of hero; rather, they merely took it for granted that a sacred public trust called for the highest type of devotion to duty.

The vicious character of Donaldson's curtailment order has all but snuffed out that type of *esprit de*

corps among the postal employees.

Thus, not only has poor mail service resulted from the curtailment order but employee morale has likewise suffered. In fact, morale in the postal establishment today is at an all-time low. Low wages are certainly a contributing factor to this dissatisfaction among the employees, but hardly less so are the poor working conditions that have been forced on them since April of 1950.

Those who are familiar with the early struggles of the free trade union movement in this country will recognize in the present administration in the Postoffice Department a throw-back to the sweatshop days prevalent at the turn of the century. The one or two officers at the top level of authority in the Department have failed miserably to comprehend the economic, political and social tendencies of the trade union movement.

The late and beloved Sam Gompers preached the gospel of labor-management cooperation as long ago as 1890. Gompers' philosophy has achieved an acceptance and respectability in practically every major industry. The same holds good for most agencies of the federal government—with the glaring exception of the Postoffice Department. The present Postmaster General resents real, honest-to-goodness, bonafide employee representation.

The Department's current concept of a labor-management program is a curious mixture of transparent insincerity and demagogic demands upon

the allegiance of the employee, whatever be the cost to the employee's health, welfare and general working conditions. That type of attitude, of course, belongs to the dark ages of the industrial life of our country.

It precludes recognition, much less acceptance of employee representation that is in any manner based on aggressive conviction or enlightened self-interest. It admits, however, and even encourages company unions subservient to the whims of those temporarily heading the Department, the welfare of the union members notwithstanding.

Thus, in the Postoffice Department today, company unions are looked upon with favor. It is significant that none of the major employee groups is a company union.

THE shocking anti-labor tactics of the present postal administration were vividly underscored in a recent article appearing in the *Detroit Labor News*. Mr. Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, and author of the article, stated flatly that Postmaster General Donaldson "since his permanent appointment has made no recommendations that would improve the lot of the employees."

On the contrary, after pointing up Donaldson's violent opposition to a modest wage increase for World War II veterans, contained in a so-called military credits bill in the Eighty-first Congress, the article listed six instances of Donaldson's anti-union and

union-busting tactics in recent months. The story likewise called attention to the fact that, while Donaldson was opposing the military credits bill on one hand, he was shoveling out \$312,000,000 of your tax money to the railroads for "back pay" for hauling the mails.

The Martel article listed instances in which Donaldson circumvented, defied and ignored the laws of Congress, downgraded employees, eliminated time differentials for work done by railway clerks on streamlined trains and pointed out how he climaxed his anti-union activities by issuing the order of April 17, 1950, which took away the innate dignity of a human being that belongs to every working man and woman.

In between these union-busting forays, the article went on to say, Donaldson vigorously fought a bill sponsored by Congressman George M. Rhodes of Pennsylvania which had for its purpose the establishment of a labor-management program in the Postoffice Department. Donaldson, the story stated, opposed the legislation because it would "encroach upon the administrative functions and responsibilities of the Department" and besides, he averred, it was "unnecessary."

The readers of this magazine would be shocked if they were told that company bosses controlled the election of officers at union conventions. The readers might well say that "there is a law against that sort of management interference in union activities." And the readers would be correct. There is a law against coercion of labor by management.

However, the Postoffice Department, as well as other federal agencies, do not come under the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board and similar panels. Mr. Martel tells an interesting story in his article to show how Donaldson used that escape hatch to dominate a convention of postmasters held in St. Louis. The article relates:

"In October, 1950, National Postmaster General Donaldson attended the Postmasters' convention. The Postmasters Association is presumably an independent organization. Dan L. Gibson of Albany, Ga., was a candidate for president and was the almost unanimous choice of all the postmasters for the position.

"When the postmasters arrived in

St. Louis, they were informed that Donaldson insisted on Barney Dickmann of St. Louis for the position. Departmental officials put the pressure on postmaster delegates. At least one acting postmaster was informed that failure to support Donaldson's choice would result in failure to secure a permanent appointment.

"The newspapers told the story. The disappointed defeated candidate complained publicly. He stated that he knew he was defeated—he had it 'from the horse's mouth.'"

The National Association of Letter Carriers has fought the reductions in mail service because we believe the American people are entitled to no less than the best in postal affairs. We have been branded as an "insub-

ordinate organization" by Postoffice Department heads because we have stood up for the rights and the welfare of letter carriers.

In all of our efforts we have been encouraged by the active and moral support of the great American Federation of Labor and numerous affiliates of the Federation. Letter carriers are deeply appreciative of that support. We solicit your continued cooperation in our campaign to bring the postal service back to the road of progress, an achievement which cannot help but boost employee morale and at the same time save millions of your tax dollars that are now going out in a shameful waste of funds to sustain the myth that a "career" Postmaster General can do no wrong.



Eating one's lunch this way is among results of curtailment decree

A Review and a WARNING

By JAMES A. BROWNLOW

President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

IN 1946 the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, through its representatives, called to the attention of the government the need of a sustained merchant marine. During the years following—1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950—this merchant marine need of the United States was reiterated more emphatically each succeeding year.

The essence of the Metal Trades Department's support of an American merchant marine might be summed up in these three reasons:

First, the United States should retain its standing among the commercial nations of the world. United States flagships should sail all seas and penetrate all harbors, carrying our exports and imports.

Second, as a nation we should not allow our skilled shipbuilding mechanics and ship operating personnel to become dispersed and be deprived of the opportunity to engage in the work in which they are skilled, or our shipyards and other ship maintenance facilities to become dissipated, deteriorated and, in many instances, unfit for future use.

The last and perhaps most important reason is that the United States must remain independent of any nation or group of nations in the carrying of our commerce and in maintaining our first line of national defense. National emergencies must never find us again dependent upon the ships of other nations to carry our troops or implements of war.

It would be assumed that two experiences would suffice to impress upon us the magnitude of successive blunders and fully prepare us for future needs. Quite the contrary is true, however. As late as mid-1950 there were loud clamors emanating from some spokesmen for government that the sacrificing of our merchant marine would aid in the closing of the dollar gap existing between the United States and some foreign countries.

The belief that American products



MR. BROWNLOW

and exports should be carried in foreign bottoms also had its strong advocates. In fact, this advocacy was put into practice to the exclusion of the use of American ships until Congress insisted, by statute, that at least one-half of United States government-financed and -provided goods and produce be carried in American bottoms.

With war clouds growing darker each day over the world's horizon, and with hostilities raging in Korea, not so much is heard about the closing of the dollar gap at the cost of the remnants of the United States merchant marine. But it must be confessed that it was incidental that the merchant marine was not wholly obliterated, rather than because of any deep conviction or planned preservation of it as a means of carrying commerce or of national defense on the part of some agencies of government.

We must examine our merchant marine as it is today and face up to the needs of our nation with the determination that we can be and will

be independent of any country or group of countries in the carrying of our commerce during peacetime as well as when we are confronted with war.

General Philip Fleming, then chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, said in 1949:

"There are four essentials to the development and maintenance of shipping services under our flag, adequate for the needs of commerce and defense. These are: first, an active fleet; second, an active shipbuilding and ship repair industry; third, an adequate training program; fourth, a national defense reserve fleet."

All with an interest in our merchant marine will readily subscribe to the general's statement.

But even with him, as chairman of the Maritime Commission, taking that strong position, there was little done about rebuilding or operating a larger fleet of merchant vessels. There continued the operation under foreign flags of vessels once owned by the United States government. The repair of these vessels in foreign ports continued, and the United States merchant marine further declined.

This went on until the sad awakening came for the third time and we found ourselves facing an emergency, one which may well be our nation's greatest trial. We are responding by recognizing our need of ships and shipping, of skilled shipbuilding mechanics and of modern, up-to-date facilities for repair and new ship construction.

Yes, we are even recognizing it to the extent that we are requesting the return of several hundred vessels which we loaned to Russia during the latter part of the last emergency and which we had conveniently forgotten about until it seemed as though they might be used against us.

We are rehabilitating hundreds of vessels of the Liberty and Victory type which have been laid up in rivers and harbors in all coastal areas. There is some activity in the repair yards because of this work, and it is reflected in the employment of skilled shipbuilding and ship repair mechanics.

The administrative branch of government and Congress have recognized that the recommissioning of old vessels is not enough to fill our needs. They have recommended and there have been enacted statutes providing for the construction of a number of fast cargo vessels. In addition, large sums of money have been appropriated for future development and expansion of our merchant marine.

It must be recognized that present appropriations are inadequate to restore our nation to its proper place in relation to other nations of the world engaged in commerce. The day of being second or third or lower in the list of nations of the world, and not first, is gone. We must never again be dependent upon the ships of any other nation or combination of nations to carry our commerce during peacetime or our commerce, troops and other necessities of war during periods when we may be engaged in war. We must be and must remain self-sustaining.

WE MIGHT examine briefly our status in relation to other nations in both shipbuilding and operation. The National Federation of American Shipping recently made poignant comments on present trends as they affect shipbuilding and ship operation. They emphasized that America's multi-billion-dollar waterfront is showing a remarkably large and steadily increasing number of foreign flags flying from the masts of merchant ships and that American flag merchant ship entrances and clearances are steadily declining in American ports.

The total net registered tonnage of all vessels entering and clearing U.S. ports in 1950 with commercial cargo was 112,466,000. Only 42.7 per cent of this tonnage was merchant ships carrying the Stars and Stripes. In 1949, the figure was 48.5 per cent. In sharp contrast, in 1950, of the 102,775,000 net registered tons of vessels entering and clearing United Kingdom ports with cargo, 65.7 per cent were of British registry.

The Federation study also showed that while vessel entrances into U.S. ports with cargo totaled 27,500, vessel clearances with cargo totaled only 16,671, a greater imbalance than that recorded in 1949.

These figures indicate a loss of 6 per cent carried in American bottoms from 1949.

THAT the United States is losing ground in the international race aimed at restoration of the world's merchant passenger vessel fleet to its pre-World War II size is becoming more and more obvious.

In a study of world merchant passenger vessel construction, it must be noted that while the Stars and Stripes flew over 8 per cent of the world's passenger fleet prior to World War II, today it flies over only 5 per cent. Further, it may be pointed out that while foreign nations are building or have under contract ninety-seven passenger-carrying vessels of close to 1,000,000 gross tons, the United States

is building only two passenger ships totaling 71,719 gross tons.

Statistics show that at the beginning of 1951 the world's merchant passenger vessel fleet was 75 per cent by number and 70 per cent by gross tonnage of its pre-World War II level of 1,500 ships of 12,000,000 gross tons. But it is difficult to reconcile the position of the United States when one considers the far better job being performed by other nations of the world in rebuilding their passenger fleets, as evidenced by the fact that, upon completion of present construction, the United Kingdom will have about 92 per cent of her prewar passenger tonnage, the Netherlands will have about 78 per cent and France 76 per cent. Among the smaller maritime nations, Argentina will have increased her passenger fleet ten times over her prewar level.

The United States, after completion of ships under construction, will have only 62 per cent of her prewar tonnage, or slightly more, relatively, than



Workers in the industry are now down to a perilously low 54,000

Italy, which will soon have over 54 per cent of her prewar passenger fleet.

Among all the maritime nations of the world, the United States ranks only *fifth* in the amount of gross tonnage of passenger vessels being constructed and a poor *eleventh* in numbers of such ships being built. In contrast the United Kingdom is in first place, followed by France, Italy and Argentina.

These statements point up the peril with which we are confronted as a result of our failure to keep pace with the other nations of the world in proportion to our standing as the first nation of the world.

It is of interest to note that though at the present there are thirty-eight vessels of 516,064 gross tons in some stage of construction or contracted for in the yards of the United States, twenty-five vessels of 315,000 gross tons are the recent ones contracted for but not started. In Japan there are thirty-five seagoing vessels of 240,986 gross tons in some stage of construction.

These comparisons with other nations may bring forth the comment that there is a selfishness predominant which would destroy the merchant marines of other nations and confer the carrying of commerce and the ship construction to the United States. This is a mistaken premise. However, the maritime interests of the United States have not been protected with nearly the same zeal as other facets of our economy have.

We have but to witness the policy being carried out in Germany to see what is happening to our merchant marine.

In April, 1949, the Washington Agreement, entered into by the military governors of three major nations, provided that up to 100,000 gross tons of tankers, not to exceed 10,700 gross tons each, and 300,000 gross tons of dry cargo ships, none to exceed 7,200 gross tons, be authorized as being adequate for German recovery.

There were many modifications of this program in ensuing months up to April, 1951, at which time all restrictions were removed except that the vessels built could not have characteristics which would permit them to be readily convertible for military purposes. At the time of the last agreement, as a result of the amendments from April, 1949, the tonnage had catapulted to 650,000 gross tons and



U.S. jolly has made outlook bleak for these men and hurt country

will shortly be 800,000 gross tons.

Prior to the last war German merchant ships carried 45 per cent of her aggregate overseas commerce. In 1949 her ships carried 19 per cent. In 1950 Germany's merchant ships were again carrying 45 per cent. In contrast, the United States flag vessels are currently carrying 35 per cent of the United States overseas dry cargo commerce.

This comparison clearly indicates that again foreign nations are progressively increasing their commerce-carrying shipbuilding facilities, while the United States is failing to keep pace.

Further consideration of foreign nations' shipbuilding and operating expansion may well provoke conjecture in connection with the Russian merchant marine. The building of ships for the Soviet Union by nations receiving ECA assistance may well be challenged.

Under trade agreements, nations receiving ECA funds are building freighters, tankers, large deep-sea fishing boats and other vessels to augment the Soviet merchant fleet.

None can object to the expansion of the commercial strength of the Soviet. Neither can we, with good conscience, oppose, except in a competitive way, increased production in the shipyards of Holland, Belgium, Italy, France or any other nation. However, we should voice loud objections if the activities of the shipyards of the above countries are being financed, in whole or in part, by money from the Treasury of the United States.

We question that the Congress of

the United States intended to give aid to the shipbuilding and operating companies of foreign countries while, at the same time, it is denying assistance to expand its own shipbuilding and operating facilities.

Neither did Congress intend to build a merchant fleet, far superior to that of other nations, for a country whose objectives are so contrary to those of our own that the differences may be resolved only by armed conflict.

It is imperative that the United States do something more than deplore the status among nations of our merchant marine. We are spending billions of dollars for national defense, including the development of the most highly technical machines of war, much of which development can be and will be used for commercial purposes, and the results of which will become part of our expanding economy during peacetime. This is true of all technical advances which are being made throughout the country with the exception of the Navy, which is solely an agency of defense.

The same cannot be said of our merchant marine. During this period we should be developing fast commercial vessels capable of being quickly converted into troop carriers and being equipped with the latest modern protective devices. These vessels should further be of such type as to enter most harbors, with quick loading and unloading facilities, and of fast turnaround ability. They should be built in such numbers as to replace the obsolete vessels built during the Second World War, which in many in- (Continued on Page 38)

JOINT LABOR RALLY UNITED LABOR POLICY COMMITTEE



A. F. of L. President William Green speaking at Joint Labor Rally in New York

IN THE NEWS

George Meany delivered address
as first I.L.G.W.U. Training
Institute class was graduated



Vice-President George Harrison (seated, center) told visiting French
newspaper editors that the U.S. is happy at recovery in their country



Dr. George W. Taylor is
chairman of the en-
larged Wage Stabiliza-
tion Board which has
power industry opposed



How the Russian Underground Is Fighting Stalin's Slavery

By **CONSTANTINE W. BOLDYREFF**
[WITH JAMES CRITCHLOW]

SOME day in the years ahead the Soviet Union will explode. Irresistibly 180,000,000 Russians will rise up to destroy their Bolshevik tyrants. The rotten structure of Communist rule, history's greatest anti-labor conspiracy, will come tumbling down, to be replaced by a new, peace-loving, democratic Russia.

The eventual overthrow of communism in Russia is certain. Even MVD terror cannot guarantee the permanent subjugation of a people embittered by years of Soviet enslavement, oppression and outright murder.

Will Russia's democratic revolution take place in time to keep the Communist plotters from using their atomic bombs against humanity? The answer to this all-important question depends on how hard the free world fights to pierce the Iron Curtain and join forces with Russian anti-Communists.

American labor has a special stake in the struggle to overthrow Soviet power. The Communists have made the working man, not the millionaires, their primary target in their bid for world domination. Stalin knows that while workers are prosperous his propaganda has little chance of success. Red infiltration of some labor unions in the past has endangered the whole labor movement. Pretending to act in the name of the working class, the Communists have done more than any other enemy to injure labor.

The history of anti-Communist resistance inside Russia goes back to the first days of the Bolshevik regime.

It is now widely known that Communist Russia is a land of human bondage, that many millions of Russians have been seized by Stalin's agents and are being worked to death as slaves in scores of forced labor camps throughout the Communist empire. It is likewise common knowledge that the Russian workers who are outside the slave camps are also subjected to oppressive treatment, and free speech, free trade unions, the right to change one's job, the right to strike and other elementary rights of free people do not exist under communism.

What is not at all well known

on this side of the Iron Curtain is the fact that today—within the confines of Communist Russia itself—some resistance to the Soviet police state is being manifested by Russians who do not believe in and do not accept tyranny and dictatorship. Today, inside Stalinist Russia, despite the secret police, courageous Russians in the underground are risking their lives to spread the truth among the people about the abominations of Stalin's slave system. In this article a founder and leader of one of the Russian anti-Communist underground groups now active tells a part of this very important story.

Early in 1918 it took Communist stooges with guns and bayonets to prevent the people's representatives, many of them labor delegates, from ousting the Bolsheviks at the Constituent Assembly in Leningrad's Tavrada Palace.

Three years later the famous Kronstadt revolt, led by sailors of whom a large number were conscripted skilled workers, lasted sixteen days before Communist troops crushed it.

In 1934 tens of thousands of workers of Ivanova, Russia's textile center, made their great starvation march on Moscow, setting off a series of illegal strikes in the Urals, the Don Basin and other industrial regions.

Like all signs of resistance in the Soviet Union, these workers' demonstrations were put down by the state with terror and bloodshed.

In all, there have been more than thirty major uprisings and revolts in

the Soviet Union, a number of them led by workers.

Since 1930 an organized underground movement, known by the initials NTS, whose program stresses freedom for the Russian worker, has been growing in force and effectiveness. It now plays a major role in directing Russian resistance to communism. Originally composed of young Russian patriots, NTS ranks have been swelled since the war by the addition of many anti-Communist Russians behind the Iron Curtain and of refugees from the Soviet Union who are now in Western Europe. Our common goal: to organize the forces of Russian freedom for the day when the final all-out battle can be won.

For the time being, NTS is concentrating on propaganda and organization. We urge on all Russian patriots a silent membership pledge to prepare secretly for the coming battle.

We ask them to notify other members of their existence by chalking the letters "NTS" on fences, sidewalks and buildings in the cities and villages of Russia. These initials, the NTS monogram, also stand for the Russian anti-Communist slogans, "We Bring Death to Tyrants," and, "We Bring Freedom to Toilers." Their appearance, as evidence of dynamic response to an appeal, proves to the general public the growth of a unified anti-Communist force.

Members are told to refrain from open resistance until the time comes for simultaneous uprisings. In the meantime, these secret members, their identities often unknown even to underground headquarters, are given a program for immediate local agitation. Carefully planned for minimum individual risk, it encourages the oppressed and dismays the secret police.

Every week NTS agents behind the Iron Curtain distribute thousands of anti-Stalin leaflets to Russian workers, peasants and Red Army men. Our independent radio station, "Radio Free Russia," in addition to its regular programs, roams the airwaves, interrupting Communist broadcasts with messages of hope and underground instructions for our countrymen. In Western Europe, NTS operates special facilities for the relief and rehabilitation of newly arrived refugees from "over there," potential revolutionary fighters.

To escape the vigilance of the Soviet secret police, NTS resorts to unusual methods. Only a few of these can be revealed now. Sometimes leaflets are distributed by rockets, which appear in the sky over Red Army formations or official ceremonies and scatter their messages with a loud explosion. Specially adapted balloons also carry bundles of anti-Red messages to remote parts of Russia.

NTS agents in eight Communist-controlled countries were successfully supplied with regular shipments of propaganda materials by the simple expedient of floating them down the Danube River. It took Soviet agents a year to discover this secret communication line; they are still in the dark on most of our operations.

NTS radio broadcasts are particu-

larly upsetting for the Communists. They try desperately to jam our station, but constant shifting of frequencies gets our signals through. The London *Daily Worker* gave away the Communists' worries in a recent squeal of editorial protest against "Radio Free Russia."

A constant threat to Soviet power, the campaign of freedom continues in spite of obstacles. Limited material resources and shortages of technical facilities are not our only handicap. We need moral support from Western anti-Communists.

Terror is just part of the campaign which Stalin wages to frustrate the Russian people's mighty hatred of communism. He depends on ideological techniques, too. The Soviet propaganda machine, shrilling the most elaborate campaign of lies in history, works night and day to convince the Russians that Western democracy is a greater evil than com-

munist. Stalin's mouthpieces shriek that the free world's defense program against communism is really imperialist aggression directed at the Russian people themselves.

The Kremlin knows that Russians will fight to protect their motherland, even under the detested Communist banners, if they can be convinced that it is in danger. The heroic popular resistance to Hitler's armies, which started only when the people realized the Nazis had not come as "liberators," was a convincing illustration of Russian patriotism. By appealing again to this powerful sentiment, Stalin hopes to prolong his rule.

Thus, Soviet propaganda repeatedly hammers at the theme that "America is a Fascist country patterned after Hitler's Germany," that U.S. "ruling circles" will force the "naive and uncultured" American people to attack Russia as the Nazis did. They even claim that America undermined the



Anti-dictatorship leaflets are distributed behind the Iron Curtain by the underground, and its radio brings messages of hope to the oppressed

Allied war effort. Another Communist technique aims at keeping the Russian people isolated—from the free world and from one another. Stalin strives to make potential fighters against Communist tyranny feel that they must struggle alone and that victory over the oppressors is impossible.

Russia's anti-Communist underground needs American help to overcome these lies of Stalin. Private citizens, not governments, must speak for democracy. The American people themselves must put their true aims on the record in a way that really penetrates the Soviet information blackout. They must reach out the hand of friendship and unity to their potential Russian allies, the many millions of Russians who hate Stalin's dictatorship and love liberty. These Russians must know they can count on American support if they battle against their oppressors.

American labor can play a powerful part in linking the Russian and American peoples in a common freedom of effort. We of NTS are convinced that Russian workers will be particularly responsive to the anti-Communist campaign of the free world if they are reached by the voice of American labor.

Russian labor has borne a very heavy share of the suffering in the Soviet Union. In the so-called "workers' paradise" the Communists have subjected the working man to particular atrocities. There they have revealed what communism really means to the working man. Here is a partial list of the evils communism has forced on Russian labor:

(1) The Soviet work week is 48 hours by official decree. Unofficially, workers are kept on the job for 60 hours a week or more, at subhuman wages for all but Stakhanovite scabs.

(2) Workers are required to take any job assigned by the state, even if it removes them thousands of miles from their families.

(3) Women and children are forced by decree to work for the state, in violation of the much-advertised "Stalin constitution."

(4) Workers who quit their jobs, who are absent or who are 20 minutes late to work are subject to imprisonment.

(5) Discharged workers and their families are required to vacate their living quarters within 48 hours, are

classified as *lyetuny* (job-hoppers) and exposed to the mercy of the MVD.

(6) Soviet bureaucrats have developed the "company union" to the ultimate degree. State-controlled labor unions operate only as ruthless instruments of exploitation.

(7) Workers are subjected to continual speed-ups, termed "Socialist competition" by the Kremlin.

(8) Workers, themselves tied to the factories, are further undercut by the state's exploitation of 15,000,000 unpaid concentration-camp slaves.

FOR obvious reasons the Russian worker is an implacable enemy of communism. With the friendship and support of American workers, he can spearhead the movement which will bring communism to its end.

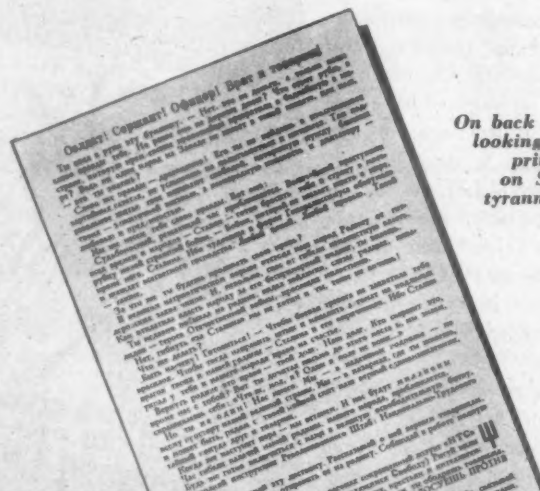
How can American workers help? In the struggle of the Russian underground against Communist slavery, it would be very helpful if American workers would reach Russian workers with messages of comradeship and truth. Free American workers can

describe the benefits which they have steadily gained under democracy through the strength of their own free labor unions. They can promise support for freedom-loving Russian workers in their revolt against slavery.

The thundering voice of free American labor can speak with special effect to the oppressed working people behind the Iron Curtain. It can expose the Communist lies about "wretched" labor conditions in the United States. The free workers' messages can be delivered via the "Freedom Subway" by NTS underground agents.

Democratic labor unions, operating on a local, national or international basis, can write "open letters" with messages like this:

"We, the free workers of Local —, a part of the strong and independent American labor movement, are determined to help the workers of Russia in their resistance to state slavery. We recognize that communism is our enemy, that you who love Russia and hate dictatorship are our allies. (Continued on Page 39)



On back of familiar-looking paper are printed attacks on Stalin's evil, tyrannical regime



OUR BIG JOB IS PUBLIC RELATIONS

By **RAY F. LEHENEY**
Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department



MR. LEHENEY

THIS can well be called the age of public relations. More than ever before, all sorts of organizations, individuals and industries are competing for public favor. Through every possible means of communication, they seek to sell their ideas, their objectives or their wares.

All are in a great scramble to get John Q. Public to their side. Whatever their purpose, whether for good or ill, they know they cannot succeed unless they win as many people as possible to their cause.

Certainly the trade union movement cannot afford to lag behind in this vital field. Labor must get its message across to all American citizens if it is to make progress and achieve its aims.

In fact, the very life of the labor movement, its future growth, hinges on the extent to which it secures public goodwill and understanding. This means constant, unremitting educational efforts.

All too often the newspapers and radio, the columnists and commentators present to the public a distorted picture of labor. They play up strikes and violence. If some individual in a union goes wrong, that's the subject for a scare headline. Any abuse in the labor movement, even if trifling, gets the spotlight.

The good that unions do is largely ignored. If in over 90 per cent of the cases unions negotiate agreements with their employers peacefully, without loss of an hour's work, that's not news, insofar as much of the press is concerned.

Clearly then, organized labor must correct this situation by a sustained

campaign to show the public that labor's aims, struggles and achievements are synonymous with the welfare of the people at large.

Labor has a great story to tell. Labor led in the fight to establish free public schools. Labor blazed the trail in raising the living standards of the people. Labor pioneered in the battle against sweatshops. Labor has been in the vanguard seeking equality of opportunity, regardless of race, creed or color.

Labor was largely responsible for putting over protective laws to safeguard all workers from exploitation; for curbing the evils of child labor; for reducing over-long working hours; for establishing social security for America's millions!

These accomplishments are the very foundation stone of the Ameri-

can way of life, built by free workers in a system of free enterprise, with the cooperation of decent employers.

We must tell our story, over and over again. There are many ways to tell it, but one of the best vehicles is through the union label, the union shop card and the union button. These are the symbols and the trademarks of labor's progress, the guideposts and the beacon lights of labor's march onward. They are the means of assuring the public that it is getting quality merchandise and services, produced by skilled craftsmen under higher American standards.

Every trade unionist should do all in his power to spread the gospel of the union label, shop card and button. If all the members of labor unions and their families would demand the label, card and button when they make purchases, that would add enormously to labor's strength. It would provide a great new bulwark in support of collective bargaining and higher economic standards for all.

With all-out mobilization by an army of union label crusaders, nothing could stop continued progress by labor and all the people.

The union label has an honorable and memorable history. It can be traced back to the guilds of the Middle Ages in Europe, and perhaps earlier. Through the guilds the public was sold on the value of craftsmanship. The guilds created what were known as hallmarks to identify the quality and prestige of their products in the marketplace. Those hallmarks were the union labels of yesterday.

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has undertaken to prove that millions of union label-conscious members of unions and auxiliaries know that when they obtain higher wages they have completed only half the job. They know that their billions of union-earned dollars must be spent annually for goods and services that are union.

At the same time that we are demanding the union label on all products, we should not overlook the importance of demanding the union shop card or union button on all services. All three of these A. F. of L. insignia are symbols of the highest degree of skill and integrity in both goods and services. They are the official emblems that distinguish high-quality goods and efficient services of union men and women. They are the trademarks of the American Federation of Labor.

Today, services in the distribution of products in many instances make up over half of the cost of a commodity to the ultimate consumer. That is why services have become so important. They include various functions, such as the purchasing of gas and oil in union service stations, for example, as well as the processing, manufacturing, packaging, transportation, wholesaling and retailing. After a food product leaves the farm, labor is often employed in every one of these numerous categories. If we continually demand union services, it will secure the present jobs and also create more employment for union members. It is also the best insurance for sanitary conditions in processing and handling food and clothing products.

If union members desire to "break into the big league," they can join local Union Label Leagues and go on "big time" with their union-earned money. The Leagues are chartered directly by the Union Label Trades Department.

We cannot sustain American labor standards if we do not buy the goods made by, and use the services performed by, union men and women. As consumers the union people of any community can concentrate their union label activities by joining or by forming a Union Label League, which is the clearing house for all A. F. of L. union label activities and programs in each city and its vicinity.

Union Label Week is an annual event. It is all set for September 2 to 8 this year. The period officially authorized by the American Federation of Labor and sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department will start on Labor Sunday, September 2, and run through Saturday, September 8. The general purpose of the declared period is to create better public relations and promote goodwill for all organizations in the A. F. of L.

Union Label Week gives an excellent opportunity for promotional activities for union label goods and union services. Local merchandisers plan window displays of union-made goods, run advertisements in daily newspapers and make announcements over radio and television stations. Local manufacturers also improve their sales position by giving the greatest publicity to high-quality, union label products. Other business establishments which display the union shop card and union button demonstrate their superb union services. The mayor of the city and the governor of the state usually issue proclamations declaring Union Label Week during the seven-day event.

An official Union Label Directory is issued annually by the Union Label Trades Department for the principal purpose of stimulating purchase of union label goods and patronage of union services by members of labor unions, women's auxiliaries and union label leagues.

This Union Label Directory is a ready reference guide for union label-conscious consumers to inform

local merchants where they can obtain union label goods. Whenever a merchant says that he is unable to procure union label products, a list of union manufacturers is handed to him. We continually urge members to take labor's loyalty oath: "Patronize only those firms that display the union label, shop card and union button."

An innovation in the stepped-up publicity campaign of the Union Label Trades Department is a short-copy poster in five colors illustrated by timely cartoons in modern technique. The posters and the frames are supplied by the Department without charge to central labor unions and other A. F. of L. branches for meeting halls. They slide into grooves of a permanent background frame which resembles an outdoor billboard. A slogan on the frame reads, "Be UNION, Buy LABEL."

THE A. F. of L. Union Industries Show is an excellent example of good public relations. It is graphic and dynamic. There is no artificial glamour in the displays. They are realistic and educational because they stem directly from union workers and fair management. The spectators get a real thrill when they see skilled A. F. of L. craftsmen actually making scores of famous union-made-in-America products or efficiently performing union services.

Officials of the Union Label Trades Department are confident that the Union Industries Show scheduled for Chicago's Soldier Field this month will be the biggest held to date. With



Billboard-style posters for union meeting halls are an innovation

over 150,000 square feet of exhibit space filled to capacity with interesting and elaborate displays and exhibits, it will surpass any exhibition of its kind ever held in America.

Last year, in Philadelphia, the crowds which thronged into the giant convention auditorium were amazed by the extent of the exhibits. Light and sound and motion and color—all wonderful selling devices—were there. There were wide aisles and all manner of extensive facilities. Demonstrators reported the crowds were eager to be shown and very attentive.

The Union Industries Shows were begun before World War II. The first one was held in Cincinnati in 1938. After the emergency, in 1946, the second exhibition was held in St. Louis. Then there were shows in Milwaukee and Cleveland. Each show has been a sensational success. The attendance has broken all previous records for the various auditoriums in which the shows have been held.

The Union Industries Show is not a money-making proposition. In fact, it costs the A. F. of L. and affiliated unions hundreds of thousands of dollars. They spend it gladly, for they know it is a good investment. They spend it to help themselves by aiding the cause of the *fair employer* who hires union members as opposed to the employer who is not fair. Every time we help a fair employer, we help our members.

In the Soldier Field exhibition hall this month will be a mile of exhibition booths showing the skills and products of American labor—tacks, trailers, pottery, cakes, cigars, clothing, furniture, radios, wallpaper, tobacco, candy, beer. The works!

The Chicago Building Trades Council has reserved the entire east exhibit hall for displays of the brick-laying, plumbing, steamfitting, carpentry, electricity, plastering, painting and other construction skills. In another section the Laundry Workers will have a huge display. The Stove Mounters will give away many stoves. The Bakery Workers will decorate fancy cakes and biscuits. Service unions, such as the Teamsters, Building Service Employees and others, will have original and specially designed booths.

Visitors may enter free contests and possibly win a pound of strictly

union-made nails, a gold-trimmed bicycle or a Henry J. automobile.

The Department of Defense, including the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps, will give visitors to the show an opportunity to view at first hand some of Uncle Sam's latest and best military equipment. Unlike the military exhibits at former Union Industries Shows, the 1951 displays of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines will reflect the tremendous operations conducted by labor and management for our national defense, and many of the military applications of modern science will be featured.

The armed forces displays have always been real highlights of the Union Industries Shows. This year, more than ever before, the colorful joint exhibit of our armed forces is certain to prove of outstanding interest. The war in Korea and tensions throughout the world have brought to public attention the importance of technical advances in firepower, weapons and ordnance. At Soldier Field the public will have an opportunity to see at first hand some of the keys to American might. The exhibit of the Department of Defense is bound to educate and inspire all visitors and to give our citizens a feeling of renewed confidence in this nation's ability to preserve its freedom.

In order to do a complete job, we must have all-out mobilization of both men and women who are union-label-conscious. The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor takes great pride in having originated and sponsored that certain idea which today gives evidence of becoming one of the most vital economic forces in America. It was at an A. F. of L. convention that the Union Label Trades Department introduced the resolution which created the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. It called for a banding together of the most loyal and energetic women in the families of the A. F. of L. unions as an aggressive army of consumers who spend their breadwinners' union-earned money for union-made goods and union services only.

New women's auxiliaries receive certificates of affiliation from the A.F.W.A.L. The ladies are performing an important function because as buyers of most of the necessities for

the average household they do not fail to demand the union label, shop card and button.

The Union Label Trades Department gratefully acknowledges the splendid support and wholehearted cooperation which it receives from President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and all officials of other A. F. of L. departments, national and international unions, State Federations of Labor, central labor bodies and local unions. We also appreciate the support received from union label leagues and women's auxiliaries.

And we are very grateful to the editors of the official labor journals and of the weekly labor newspapers and other labor periodicals for the liberal space they have always given to various union label features.

THE comprehensive program of the Union Label Trades Department is designed to publicize union labels, shop cards and union buttons, to establish a broader viewpoint in labor-management relations and to increase purchasing power, which spells greater economic security for America. Also the program seeks to develop a greater demand for union-made brands and various types of union services and, finally, to secure employment at decent wages for all American workers.

Thus, the entire policy of the Union Label Trades Department is to share all the benefits established over the past seventy years by the American Federation of Labor with all our citizens.

To make this program effective requires an active, vocal and persistent demand for union label products and union services by all members of trade unions, the members of their families and their friends.

We are grateful for the vigorous and unstinting cooperation we are receiving from the officials of all A. F. of L. affiliates, but much more could be done by the rank and file. There should be an all-out, universal crusade by all union-minded people for this great cause, which means so much to all of us and to the nation which we all cherish.

It is in this job of public relations that we ask every union member's help in getting labor's message, aimed at understanding and goodwill, across to the public.

EDITORIALS *by William Green*

Labor in Defense

IT IS GOOD that labor can return to cooperation within the agencies promoting the nation's defense. Our purpose in withdrawing was to assure an organization in keeping with those basic principles of human freedom which we defend. We were upholding the ideals of our country in withdrawing our representatives until sound relations and organization were effected as the basis of our participation in policy-making and administrative responsibility.

Because we realize that the issue in this world struggle is human freedom, we have continued to aid through our own labor channels as individuals and through the influence of our organized power. Labor, more than any organized group, realizes we are engaged in a conflict that must be fought through to victory. There is no area for compromise between the philosophy of Christian civilization, with its recognition of the dignity of every person, and the philosophy of the Kremlin, which places the state above the church and the individual.

Our unions have always felt it a duty to defend our nation, which is organized to serve our citizens. In this emergency the state has been directed to perform, in the public interest, functions which are ordinarily performed by private individuals or organizations. The state has undertaken to manage private property and to determine profits, earnings, prices, priorities, etc. It is therefore of fundamental importance that individuals whose rights and possessions are affected shall have effective representation in the government agencies administering them.

We are glad that this issue has been determined, for it is the key to equality of sacrifice.

Negotiations resulting from labor's withdrawal provide a top citizen policy committee to meet with the President and the Director of Defense Mobilization. This committee is composed of four representatives each of the public, labor, employers and agriculture, who are to participate in policy-making at the top level.

A representative consultative manpower committee, also at the top level, will assure maintenance of voluntary methods in administering manpower for all production purposes. The operating program will be in the Department of Labor, with representative advisory committees at regional and area levels.

The Wage Stabilization Board has been enlarged and given responsibility for handling all disputes. This Board will adjust inequities which constitute injustice to wage-earners as well as counteract inflation which threatens all segments of our economy.

Programs are under way to provide labor representation in the Defense Production Agency, defense power, metal mining, oil and solid fuels, etc.

This program clears the way for that cooperation by

all citizens which can assure the necessary strength and endurance to make our defense effort victorious over aggression and despotism.

Morale—Key to Defense

NOW THAT defense contracts are coming through at the rate of two billion dollars per month, our huge industrial machine has begun to convert to defense production, and by the end of this year such production will constitute 15 per cent of our whole economy. Expansion of our production facilities proceeds at a rapid pace. As preparedness for defense increases in all fields, the danger of military attack by the Kremlin declines. No dictator can afford to lose a war. There is already so much unrest and resistance within Stalin's vast empire—comprising one-third of the world's population—that he is unlikely to attack the United States or any other nation ready to defend itself.

But security against all-out war against us does not end the possibility of Communist world empire. The agreements of Yalta and Potsdam gave the Kremlin control of Eastern Europe and its opportunity for expansion in the Near East and Southeastern Asia. The Kremlin has taken the utmost advantage of these opportunities and has steadily extended its boundaries without declarations of war.

One of its most effective agencies is its fifth column. This fifth column is made up either of citizens of the country attacked who have been suborned to betray their own fatherland or persons induced to serve a purpose of the Kremlin, aided by Communists disguised as immigrant colonials trained to underground strategy to weaken institutions so as to seize control for the Kremlin.

Already Kremlin Communists have honeycombed India and Burma and hope to conquer these countries, without war, within the next two years. By similar strategy Stalin hopes to get hold of his greatest single war need—oil. His colonials are working busily upon Iran's desire for national independence and desire for its own government, free of outside control. He is seizing on the very natural desire for national freedom to secure expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The next steps in this war of strategy are clear to all who know how the Kremlin moves in gaining control.

We know also that the Kremlin has its agents working steadily for the conquest of Moslem peoples. These designs extend over North Africa to the Near East and into the heartland of Asia. The people of the central nation, Turkey, have already demonstrated valor as soldiers with the United Nations forces in Korea and proven their indifference to opportunities for conquest. The Moslems can find no basis for cooperation with atheistic communism.

We know that the Kremlin has agents throughout Africa and here, as elsewhere, is seizing upon the native desire for self-rule and resentment against discrimination to lay the groundwork for propaganda and ultimate control.

The Kremlin is alert to grasp at any mistake or weakness in Western civilization to impose the world's cruellest despotism upon inexperienced nations. Communist parties in Western Europe and in the Western Hemisphere are a dangerous menace to human freedom.

These are only highlights in the global war that compels us to be on guard in all parts of the world. This great menace to human freedom challenges our determination and our endurance for keeping steady nerves. Not all of us are fully aware of the danger—short of war—that confronts us. *We need to realize that this danger will be present until the Kremlin is forced to end its control and domination of the mind, spirit and bodies of men—within Russia as in any other part of the world.*

We shall need the strength that comes from deep-rooted belief in God. Only men who have this belief in God will value free institutions and guard what they know is a sacred heritage.

These rights have been preserved for us by the sacrifices of men who cherished freedom. These are the rights which the American Federation of Labor was founded to assure to all wage-earners in the United States.

We have the duty also to aid less fortunate workers in establishing and maintaining such rights. We should continually rededicate ourselves and our unions to this supreme cause—human freedom—so that we shall do our full part in preparedness for defense against military attacks and against the more subtle strategy by which communism hopes to weaken our morale.

With our spirit confident and our purpose sure, we shall stand as unconquerable defenders of human freedom.

Military Training for All

IN VIEW of the peril to our national security caused by continued Soviet aggression, our country must be in readiness to resist attack quickly and effectively. The two factors which have conditioned the speed with which we could take action have been time to permit training of military personnel and the development of capacity to sustain services in action.

Practically every important citizen group has conceded the necessity for a program of universal military training, some urging a permanent program and others wanting the training limited to the emergency. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in January expressed itself as follows:

"The Executive Council favors limited universal military training, provided, however, that it will end with the emergency, that it will not become part of the educational system and that it will in no way transgress upon or become part of our civilian system of service, production and distribution or be used in any way to limit, restrict or interfere with the rights of labor, individually or collectively."

Such a program follows the principle of placing responsibility equally upon all citizens eligible for service. The administration of the law will, of course, determine

the categories and scope of exemptions and should determine these in accord with the principle of equality of sacrifice. During the emergency, which may last years, danger of aggression requires preparedness for instant defense.

The American Federation of Labor holds that universal military training should be reviewed after the emergency and a permanent peacetime policy determined in the light of future needs.

For the emergency there is no safety without the strength and the will for freedom!

'Time Study Norm'

FREDERICK W. TAYLOR is known as the founder of the movement for scientific management. Scientific management sought to decrease the unit costs of production by standard accounting methods and production control records, materials control and flow as needed, standardization of tools, scientific planning for placement and operation of machines and tools to facilitate maximum production.

His experiments and studies at the beginning of the Twentieth Century were a pioneer service which prepared the way for mass production, resulting in an economy of plenty. His vision was fixed on the need for developing a system by which management could contribute to greater prosperity for the nation.

Because he could measure with precision the output of machines in terms of time, he was convinced that he could similarly measure the output of individual workers. He began his time and motion studies, stop-watch in hand. His purpose was to express, in units of time, the productivity of each worker. Taylor's mistake was in not recognizing that workers are human beings, whose work is affected by the qualities and personal incentives that distinguish each man, and in not taking into account the worker's sacred character as an individual created by God in His image and likeness.

There is just one way by which individuals as workers can exercise their rights and prerogatives, rights which have their roots in the dignity of the human person. That is by collective action to assure their effective right to contract covering terms and conditions of work.

As mutuality is the heart of contract, workers must have effective right to select their agents to make contracts for them. Assured of elementary justice, workers are then ready to consider management problems on their merits.

So long as the right to union membership was denied them, workers categorically rejected management's efforts to impose time study on them merely as a speed-up device. Where unions were weak or of the "company" variety, a number of large companies were successful in using time and motion studies to develop time units for various elements of production. Workers had to submit or give up their jobs. Such units became the basis for determining piece rates. "Scientific determination" of production units in terms of time evaluated in dollars was designed to replace collective bargaining based on workers' experience.

One of the results of Taylor's experimentation and teaching was to develop an emphasis on management's contribution to production that helped to lift the calling

to a professional status. Courses by Business Schools were instituted to teach principles of management. Two vocational organizations resulted—the Taylor Society and the Management Division of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. The former afterward was merged in the present Society for the Advancement of Management.

In the Taylor Society as well as among the engineers, there were those who believed that any practice affecting the welfare of workers as vitally as does time study should be initiated only with their understanding and consent. No other condition would gain their full cooperation in increasing quantity and quality of production at lower unit costs.

There were others who held time study was unnecessary to their objective and that the correct method was to give workers records of their output. Such records put workers' minds to comparing results of various days' output in order to discover what brought the best results and then trying to better their records. Where such records are used to help workers understand how to increase their efficiency, they are factors that improve morale. All heads are mobilized for efficiency.

When time studies of individuals are used as a means to determine the rate of compensation, they encourage pacesetters for speed-ups. Compensation for work should be measured by methods in the determination of which the worker participates.

Most of the difficulties growing out of time study have been due to management's unilateral assumption of determining the facts and making evaluations without consultation with the men who use tools and materials in carrying out work orders. Unless such decisions at least can be modified by workers' experience, they become the cause of serious unrest.

Time study to promote greater efficiency is one purpose and time study to derive rates of pay is quite another. Therefore, union workers maintain that if time

studies are to be made, the objective should be production efficiency; that workers must participate in the initiation of the studies and understand steps in operation as well as in their application; and that compensation for work done shall be in accord with standards determined by collective bargaining.

Despite the experience of half a century revealing that time study was at its best a minor tool, the Society for the Advancement of Management set up a committee several years ago to study the rating of time studies. One of the objectives was to develop a uniform concept of normal working time speed. Since workers are individuals, such a norm can be only an average which exists nowhere. This committee considered and rejected a proposal to invite representatives of workers to participate because they feared such participation would imperil financing by employers.

Films were taken of industrial operations at various speeds and these films were sent to industrial engineers with the request that they rate the speeds. In other words they were asked to estimate production at the film speed if performed in their factories. From their "estimates" or guesses a national norm was derived. The committee even refused to give labor opportunity for critical review of the film before it was released for use. Such a norm is certainly not scientific or objective—nor even a reality. We advise all unions to resist proposals to permit an arbitrator to use the film as a basis for deciding an issue between union and management.

There is no accurate way of determining whether an individual or a group are working at normal or at under- or over-capacity. Yet the Society for the Advancement of Management proposes this "estimate" norm as a universal standard to be used to train and retrain time study engineers, union officials and members of management.

Beware of the booby trap!

To keep up with the news, listen to

FRANK EDWARDS

In these days of national emergency, you must know what is happening—and you must also know *what it means*. You have to be informed not only on what is openly revealed but—more im-

portant—on what the reactionaries and profiteers want to keep covered up. Frank Edwards ferrets out the truth and he reports it to you. His nightly broadcasts have become a "must" for

millions of alert citizens across the nation. We urge you to acquire the Frank Edwards habit. It is very rewarding in terms of good citizenship. Tell your friends to listen, too.



MR. WALSH

THE scene was an alley outside a theater stage door. Several men huddled in a shadow beyond the flicker of the gaslight. Caps were pulled low over their eyes. They were stagehands, whispering of a scheme to form a union, and management had long ears—and a longer blacklist.

This scene was repeated, again and again, all over America during the last quarter of the past century. The best-paid stagehands of that era worked for fifty cents a day. Some got twenty-five. Often they worked almost around the clock—unloading the show, setting it up, handling the lights, shifting the sets for matinee and evening performance, then taking them down and packing them to go on to the next one-night stand.

Quite often, too, when the work was done, even the four bits could not be collected. Fly-by-night producers were numerous and nimble-footed.

For Your Entertainment

The I.A.T.S.E.: How It Was Born,
How It Grew, What It Does

By RICHARD F. WALSH

*President, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage
Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators*

Many a stranded stagehand walked the rails back home.

Since 1863 the stranded and stricken had been receiving charitable aid from a society known as the Theatrical Mutual Association. This fine group of lodges, a forerunner of the I.A.T.S.E., still carries on its good work.

But unionism also was essential, and in our industry the problem was complicated by the old adage that "the show must go on." This is still gospel to us. Blizzards, laryngitis, accidents, equipment bottlenecks—these are no obstacles to men and women of the theater. By the same token, our union has been pledged, from the beginning, to accept "wise, honorable and conservative mediation" of collective bargaining disputes. The strike weapon has been seldom used, and then only as a last resort.

Of course, as was true of almost every union, this last resort had to be used as a means of getting established. First step toward forming the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees came on April 25, 1886, with the organization of the Theatrical Protective Union of New York. Its founders dreamed of earning \$1 a day, and their dream became a reality two years later, following a strike that involved the Academy of Music, among other houses. Inex-

perienced strikebreakers were hired, and things reached a climax—in our favor—when a "flat" toppled over on Louis James, the celebrated tragedian, during Hamlet's soliloquy.

Meanwhile, the stagehands were organizing in such places as Chicago, Pittsburgh, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Denver, Syracuse, Buffalo and Boston. Finally, on July 17, 1893, representatives of the unions in those nine cities assembled at Elks Hall, New York, to join with their Broadway brothers in founding the National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

Direct impetus had been given by the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, which attracted theatrical mechanics from all over the country. There, thrown together, they had discovered a mutuality of interests and decided to do something about it.

During the early days, leadership rotated almost automatically with each annual convention. John G. Williams of New York, the first president, was succeeded in 1894 by Lee M. Hart of Chicago. By July of that year the number of locals had doubled and the American Federation of Labor granted a charter.

The new group's economic strength began to be felt under the administration of Brother Hart, who later served diligently as general secretary-treasurer from 1898 until 1915.

In 1902, when several Canadian locals joined, the National Alliance stepped forth as an International.

Firm establishment of the organization as a power in the theater was accomplished by a strike at New Orleans in 1910 and '11. Here for the first time stage employees felt the sting of a federal injunction. Again strike-breakers were employed and were slipped into one house—for a while—through a manhole in the street. We have made a documentary film which depicts the union's answer to that challenge. It shows International President Charles C. Shay peacefully picketing, peacefully reading a newspaper in a chair on top of that manhole.

Brother Shay headed the Alliance from 1911 until 1921. His New Orleans victory, made possible through assistance by all the locals, brought union recognition from the dominant Klaw and Erlanger interests. It was followed the next year by our first blanket contract for road men. Under this agreement, bonds posted with the international guaranteed transportation home—and pay for two extra weeks if a show closed suddenly.

IN 1919, when the members of Actors Equity struck for similar benefits, the stage employees helped them win by walking out in sympathy. Thus was taken a vital step toward complete unionization of the industry.

During Brother Shay's administration the industry took on new, gigantic proportions through the rapid spread of moving pictures. As early as 1908 the I.A.T.S.E. had decided to organize projectionists, and



Projectionist at work. The union has also organized Hollywood end

in 1914 jurisdiction over them was granted officially by the A. F. of L. Hundreds of new locals sprang into being. They faced contract fights galore. Often moving picture machine operators were expected to lug the film to and from the exchange, put up the posters before the show and take them down afterward, even sweep out the theater. This went on seven days a week, with the week's pay averaging about \$10.

Gradually the projectionists' conditions were improved, often with help from the stage employees. Many of the latter entered the new field as the number of legitimate theaters on the road started to diminish. Today the Alliance has hundreds of "mixed" locals—unions in the smaller cities

with jurisdiction over the presentation of shows of all kinds.

Beginning with the earliest days of film production, the Stage Employees' locals on both the East and West Coasts were active in this new medium. And in the decade after World War I, a full-scale drive to complete organization of the Hollywood studios was launched.

Guiding spirit back of it was William F. Canavan, international president from 1924 until 1932. The year he took office, a charter for Studio Mechanics in New York was issued, followed the next year by a similar charter in Hollywood. Cameramen were organized in 1926 and '27, and laboratory technicians in 1929.

It was during this period that Al Jolson's "The Jazz Singer" startled America by giving voice to the movies, touching off a great revolution in our industry's techniques. Projectionists and studio workers were called on to learn entirely new crafts—and did so in jig-time.

As has always been true when new crafts come into being, special problems of union recognition arose—particularly on the West Coast, where the studios' sound departments were growing. Alliance efforts to obtain contracts for these workers brought on a strike during 1933. Our jobs were filled by other unions—at a time when the locals elsewhere were caught in the worst of all depressions. International President William C. Elliott had the task of leading the organ-



It takes skilled hands to build what the playwright has dreamed up



Wardrobe mistress, working backstage, makes valuable contribution

ization during this troubled period.

Ultimately the studio crisis was met with the aid of loyal members at theaters far and wide, supporting their jobless brothers. Pictures of a sort had been produced without us, but now they were threatened with rotting in the cans. Thus the employers found themselves forced to talk business, and the Alliance staged a Hollywood comeback which eclipsed all previous accomplishments on that scene. For the first time, closed-shop contracts were obtained, and the I.A.T.S.E. emblem appeared on every feature and short subject.

There remained one more major drive toward unionization of the screen industry. It began in 1937 with the establishment of a Special Department covering back room and front office workers in the vast network of film exchanges throughout the United States—plus cashiers, doormen, ushers and other front-of-the-house employees at the theaters. This department has grown through the years and received a big impetus in 1945 when a charter for the employees of the New York home offices was issued. Thus, the work of our

members now is essential at all stages of the manufacture and disposition of one of America's outstanding commodities, a degree of control somewhat unique among labor organizations. We even have people who handle film salvage after the final showing at the remotest last-run theater.

The present administration of the

Alliance began in 1941, following a damaging blow received at the hands of racketeers. The conviction of several gang henchmen who muscled in, along with a couple of union leaders they corrupted, gave the membership an opportunity to go forward free of this menace—but also gave it a huge task of rebuilding public esteem, for the wrongdoings of a very few had tended to blacken the name of the organization as a whole.

Moving to overcome this handicap, the new administration inaugurated a policy of operating in a sort of fish-bowl—always open for inspection. To assure fair, democratic treatment of all members, a series of constitutional reforms was recommended and adopted. Elections now take place at every biennial convention, instead of every four years. Apprenticeship rules have been liberalized. And the rights of appeal from decisions of both local and international officers have been spelled out clearly and observed.

Stern measures, too, were required to guard against a recurrence of the past evil. Those who had betrayed the organization were banned forever from membership. And when, in a few scattered instances, precepts of democracy on the local level were violated, the international took over until such time as proper functioning could be restored.

At almost the start of this new era, the extraordinary demands of World War II had to be met. Military service cut deep into our ranks. Full resources of the stage and screen were



In 1919 the stagehands walked out in sympathy with striking actors

mobilized for civilian defense, bond campaigns, morale building. And the all-out cooperation of the I.A.T.S.E. and its craftsmen proved a big step toward reestablishing our good name in the public eye.

Throughout the war the no-strike pledge of the Alliance was scrupulously observed. Since the war I.A. strikes have been few, scattered and small—but predominantly successful.

Our most dramatic battle of recent years has been waged against pro-Communist forces in Hollywood. One of the first unions ever to take a strong anti-Red stand, the Alliance long has stood as a barrier across the path of those friends of Moscow who have sought to infiltrate the West Coast studios. Near the end of the war, when an attempt was made to paralyze production, our loyal members kept the studios running, and the big push on which the Communists gambled so heavily failed. Today, more than at any time in history, there is labor peace in Hollywood.

During this administration the Alliance has gone forward on several new fronts. Operators' locals have made progress in organizing the sprawling 16 mm. film industry. Besides the home office employees, numerous additional motion picture production groups have joined the I.A. Legitimate theater control has been strengthened through adding theatrical wardrobe attendants backstage and treasurers and ticket sellers in the front of the house.

More recently the ever-changing entertainment field has faced a new revolution with the advent of television. Here the crafts of both stage and screen are required in growing abundance. I.A. skills of one sort or another are behind virtually every network show. Television, of course, has created many tough problems, but we are striving to iron them out in a fair and peaceful manner.

As it approaches threescore years, the International Alliance has nearly 1,000 locals reaching as far as the

Panama Canal Zone, Hawaii and Alaska. The many thousands of craftsmen they represent are among the world's best paid.

Between biennial conventions the I.A.T.S.E. is governed by a General Executive Board consisting of the international president, the general secretary-treasurer and nine vice-presidents. The Board meets semi-annually.

Day-to-day administration is handled through the General Office, International Building, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Most of the vice-presidents and about a dozen international representatives, having headquarters at scattered points throughout the United States and Canada, serve as trouble-shooters for their areas and assist in negotiations when necessary.

Mutual problems of a regional nature facing the local unions are handled by fourteen district organizations, each of which is headed by a district secretary-treasurer.

Labor and Defense in Britain

By RAY BOYFIELD

*Secretary, Organization Department,
British Trades Union Congress*

WHEN the British government called in spokesmen from both sides of industry late in 1950 to help find additional manpower for the rearmament program, it was estimated that 250,000 extra workers would be required for defense contracts by 1952. This number has now been doubled and will probably be needed sooner.

When Britain began rearming two years before World War II, there were idle resources of both men and machines to draw on. Today, with full employment, the situation is different. The new production urgently needed for defense can only be obtained through economy elsewhere in British industry.

The Minister of Labor's Advisory Council, composed of forty representatives of the Trades Union Congress and of managers in public and private industry, is overhauling supplies of labor and proposing ways in which

skill can be increased or more fully used.

The additional 500,000 men required does not include the further 100,000 taken by the armed forces through the longer period of compulsory service and increased volunteering. The figure is for extra military equipment alone, and while it includes workers in textiles, clothing and chemicals, the greater part will be needed in engineering and allied industries.

What makes the burden more severe is that it is concentrated in industries which until now have made the largest contribution to exports and which also supply the new tools essential for increasing industrial efficiency at home.

The complete picture of labor in Great Britain cannot be seen until more of the new defense contracts have been placed and the raw material position is clearer. Prime Minister

Attlee has spoken hopefully of "the mutual availability of materials and machine tools" among the Western nations, and the Advisory Council already knows the trades whose numbers must be strengthened and in what regions this is most urgent. The Council has proposed a series of measures, not one of which can make a large contribution but which, taken together, will reduce substantially the number of workers who would otherwise have to be transferred from civilian and export work.

In Britain nearly 23,000,000 persons are now in civilian employment. This figure is the highest ever. It can be increased only by attracting still more married women and elderly persons into industry. Already 700,000 married women are working part time and a larger number full time. An appeal has been made for more companies to adjust their hours of work to (Continued on Page 38)

The Bookbinders

By **JOHN B. HAGGERTY** and **JOSEPH DENNY**

*President and Secretary-Treasurer, Respectively,
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders*

THE early bookbinders were monks. The products of their painstaking labors are preserved in museums and libraries in this country and abroad. Some specimens of their skilled and most attractive work date back to 700 A. D. and may be viewed at the British Museum.

More than 500 years ago skilled craftsmen were engaged in carefully

Bookbinding is the process of gathering together printed sheets and fastening them within the confines of a cover, which facilitates handling, reading and preservation. The art of bookbinding came into being with a change from parchment roll to a book made up of separate sheets.

The earliest books were composed of single sheets folded once and collected with sewing through the central fold to hold the leaves together. With the invention of printing from movable type, the art of bookbinding underwent a great change but continued strictly a handicraft until modern times. As a result of the introduction of high-speed paper-making and printing machinery, books, magazines, pamphlets and catalogs pour from the press in mammoth quantities and, as could be expected, machinery of great complexity has been developed to cope with this vast output. While it is true that the bulk of present-day bookbinding is mechanized, it would be a grave mistake to conclude that genuine skill and dexterity are no longer displayed in this most interesting activity.

Many machines are used in the bookbinding industry. These include folders, gatherers, ruling machines, smashers, sewers, stitchers, casemakers, covers, trimmers, embossers and stampers. The smasher is a machine that compresses and makes the book-to-be solid after the folded sheets have been gathered together in correct sequence. The casemaker turns out the covers, which consist of board covered with cloth or leather. The trimmer, a rapid machine usually equipped with three knives, produces smooth edges top, bottom and at the side.

From the printing press spill the sheets that are to make the book. The folder takes the big sheets and

puts creases in them where creases should be. The worker takes these folded sections and collates them, whereupon the whole business is put through the smashing machine.

Then the book goes to the sewing machine. Here punches make an incision, a needle carries a thread through the hole and the thread meets a device called a looper that fastens the stitch. Following the



MR. DENNY

sewing, the unit is again subjected to smashing. Linings and a cloth joint are then pasted in. With the trimming and the attachment of the cover you have your completed book, except for the affixing to the front cover of lettering or a label. Ultra-fine books also get their covers hand-tooled.

From 1852 to 1892 most workers in the printing trades belonged to the International Typographical Union, which at that time was an industrial union embracing all printing crafts. However, in 1892 the Bookbinders withdrew from the I.T.U. and combined with a few other independent



MR. HAGGERTY

sewing together pages of manuscripts and binding and casing them for preservation. These basic processes of the bindery trade practiced centuries ago have not been eliminated in the development of the printing industry to its present mass-production stage.

Although today machines perform many of the operations which once were done by hand, the bookbinder still is called upon to exercise skill and judgment in fashioning books, magazines and other printed material into a form which will be both durable and attractive to millions of readers.



Even in this mechanized age, the art of bookbinding calls for a variety of labor skills

groups of Bookbinders to organize the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. It is interesting to note that as early as 1850, forty-two years before the birth of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the bookbinders of Washington, D. C., had organized under the leadership of Columbus Denham.

In 1892 the Bookbinders held their first convention, which established the international as a separate union for members in the bookbinding branch of the printing trades. Six years later the Bookbinders, with a membership of 2,500, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. By 1904 the membership had increased to 6,500 and ten years later to nearly 11,000. During the period of the First World War the union more than doubled its membership, only to lose most of the gain in the postwar depression.

The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders suffered its most severe setback in 1921. A nationwide campaign for the forty-four-hour workweek in the industry was launched. Unfortunately, the time was inopportune, for business conditions were steadily deteriorating. The campaign was marked by bitterly fought strikes as the requests of the printing trades were strongly resisted by the employers. The union lost thousands of members and became bankrupt.

Later, however, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders met

with success in a large number of cities. Rehabilitation of our local unions was our next job. Gradually our influence was extended into unorganized localities in branches of our industry.

The depression which followed the crash of 1929 struck another hard blow at the union, but this time our membership did not drop so sharply as it had in 1921 and 1922. With the creation of the N.R.A. in 1933, the International found itself in a good position to resume, on a broad scale, its efforts to organize all workers in the craft. In the next five or six years the union achieved marked progress in organizing workers in the bookbinding and bindery trades. Organizing techniques have been revised to meet the widespread changes in the industry brought about by the extensive use of machinery. The organizing activities of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders have been greatly broadened over the years.

Through the six decades of its history the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders has consistently endeavored to meet the changing needs of the workers employed in the bookbinding trades. Occasional setbacks have not deterred the union from forging ahead in the task of improving the wages and working conditions of its members and in safeguarding the interests of the craft. Our membership has been

increasing steadily over the years until now we have approximately 50,000 members.

For some years we have been striving to attain the shorter workweek in our industry. Our last three conventions adopted resolutions calling for the shorter workweek, and we now have about 65 per cent of our membership working 35 to 37½ hours weekly.

Hourly wages for our journeymen and journeymen on the various hand and machine binding occupations in different sections of the country vary, and this despite our efforts to stabilize the industry. It is our contention that it costs as much to live in one section as another and that a skilled bookbinder in the South is just as capable as one in the North and should receive equal consideration.

While there is always unfinished business, we are well organized in the commercial field, and the edition book field, which has remained largely unorganized from 1921 on, is now organized about 95 per cent. This applies also to the magazine field. We are now about 75 per cent organized in the commercial field throughout the United States and Canada.

Today wages paid bookbinders and bindery women are comparable with those paid to other printing trades workers. They receive one to three weeks' paid annual vacations and six

to ten paid holidays. Sixty-five per cent are working the shorter work-week, and a number of our local unions have established health, welfare and insurance plans.

Union law prescribes an apprenticeship term of not less than four years for men and not less than two years for women in the bookbinding trade. The minimum educational requirement for apprentices is a grade-school education. When entering a shop, apprentices must be thoroughly instructed by foremen, journeymen and journeywomen and their progress reviewed periodically by an apprentice-examining board established by the local union.

Our international conventions have called upon local unions to cooperate with state apprenticeship councils and the apprenticeship unit in the U.S. Department of Labor in organizing local joint apprenticeship councils to deal with apprenticeship problems in the bookbinding trade.

Contract negotiations concerning wages, hours and the fringe issues are conducted by local unions, often with the assistance of the international. After the local union wage committee draws up its proposal, it is submitted to the international president for his approval or disapproval.

In some instances agreements are made with a single employer, while in others the agreement is negotiated through an association representing a group of employers in the city or locality. After the local and the employer have reached agreement on the terms of the proposed contract and it has been signed by the local union's officers and the employer or employers' group, copies are sent to the international president for his signature. Two copies are retained for the international union's files, and the remainder returned so that the local union and the employer will have signed copies.

It might be well to state that most of the dealings we have with employers in our industry are amicable. The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders has long been dedicated to the principles of mediation, conciliation and arbitration. These procedures have proved worthwhile.

Copies of our financial statements and international constitution and by-laws are mailed to local unions. In connection with our constitution, it should be stated that it provides for

the widest possible and most democratic nomination and selection of the international officers.

Individual members may nominate candidates for office. These nominations are sent in to headquarters and are published in the official journal, *The International Bookbinder*. Local unions then endorse such candidates as they approve at subsequent meetings and send their endorsements to headquarters. The candidates supported by the largest number of locals are placed on the official ballot. The pages of the journal are open to each candidate for an expression of his or her views on union policies, and copies of the candidate's statement are submitted prior to publication to rival nominees to afford them the opportunity of responding. In this manner the views of all candidates are placed before the membership in the same issue of the journal.

Several weeks are allowed for this type of discussion before the members in each local cast their votes.

OUR executive council is composed of a president, first, second, third, fourth and fifth vice-presidents, a Canadian vice-president and a secretary-treasurer. Our council meets when necessary, and all matters that can be handled in the interim are submitted through correspondence, with each member furnished a vote slip for his vote in favor or opposed to the proposition submitted; and his vote is so recorded. Two of our vice-presidents must be women. The convention constitutes the highest authority of the organization and is the last court of appeal.

John B. Haggerty has held the office of international president for twenty-six years and effective January, 1951, was reelected without opposition for a four-year additional term. President Haggerty has also served as chairman of the board of governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association for over twenty years.

Joseph Denny took office January, 1951, as secretary-treasurer of the international, having been elected without opposition in October, 1950. For the preceding four years he served as a vice-president and for fifteen years he had been business representative of Local 119, New York City, one of the largest locals.

The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders holds conventions every two years. Resolutions that are adopted are handled as directed, except that those resolutions which involve the constitution or by-laws are submitted to referendum and become part of the international laws only if the results of the referendum are favorable.

The revenue of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders is derived from initiation fees, charter fees and per capita tax, all of which are nominal. More than half of our membership are women who pay low dues. Journeymen pay the highest dues, \$1.50. It is interesting to note that while the dues of each member are earmarked for the various funds—general, defense, journal and mortuary—the mortuary fund receives 40 cents from each member's dues to provide a funeral benefit payable to the member's beneficiary. This benefit ranges from \$100 for one year's membership to \$500 for fifteen years' membership. Many millions of dollars have been paid out of the mortuary fund over the years.

The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders has been affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department of the A. F. of L. since 1909. This Department is a clearing house for publicity and information on union labels, shop cards and working buttons. Through our affiliation with the Union Label Trades Department we receive wide publicity for our union label. The Department also publicizes the Allied Printing Trades label—the Allied Printing Trades represent all the A. F. of L. printing trades unions—which should appear on all union printing.

The International Bookbinder, a bi-monthly publication, is our official magazine. Headquarters offices of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders are located in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington, D. C.



This is union's official label

Free Unionism in France

By **LÉON JOUHAUX**

President, Force Ouvrière

FIVE officers of France's Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor) handed in their resignations to Benoit Frachon, second secretary-general of the C.G.T., on the afternoon of Friday, December 19, 1947. Those who took this action were the present writer, the secretary-general of the C.G.T. since 1909; three secretaries of the Confédération, Robert Bothereau, Georges Delamarre and Albert Bouzanquet, and the treasurer, Pierre Neumeyer.

The resignations were presented in accordance with the decision which had just been made at a national conference of the militant French trade unionists gathered under the aegis of the weekly paper *Force Ouvrière* (Labor Force), a direct offspring of the underground publication *Résistance Ouvrière*, which had staked out as its prime objective the defense of freedom and trade union independence.

Harsh as it was, this split—the second break-up of the C.G.T. since its reunification in 1935—did not come unexpectedly. It had been inevitable for six months, ever since the Communist Party had ceased to be part of the government majority. This does not mean that the deep-seated causes did not exist before, but until that time the requirements

of Communist policy had obliged the majority members of the C.G.T. to make at least a show of respect for the rights of the minority.

It must be said that the ostensible trade union unity which was established at Toulouse in 1935 on the basis of the Amiens charter proclaiming the independence of trade unionism in respect of all schools of phil-

osophy, all religions and all political parties, had only been a front, and the majority of the General Confederation of Labor, who were members of the Communist Party for the most part, were not sincere in accepting the principle of trade union independence. Four years later, when a crucial test came up, the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the Communist trade unionists, after some vacillation, found themselves perfectly in line with the policy of the Kremlin.

The subsequent participation by the U.S.S.R. in the fight against and victory over Nazism and Fascism, and the necessity of resisting the invader, of course, brought about the restoration of a C.G.T. once again unified on the principles of trade union independence.

After the war alert French trade unionists who had not let themselves be blinded by the light coming from Moscow realized that, as in 1935, the merchandise did not fully correspond to the label and that to the Communists practical independence was much more apparent than real. The non-Communist workers had no desire to be pawns pushed by forces outside of the trade union movement. These freedom-loving toilers rallied around a modest newspaper published by workers who had never been fooled by spurious "unity." For months this group tried its best to straighten out the situation. Then it called a national conference of the *Force Ouv-*



The author addressing Force Ouvrière convention. M. Jouhaux has been a leader of French toilers for more than forty years

rière (Labor Force) group, F.O. for short. This first national conference of the F.O. was held only six weeks before the break with the C.G.T.

That first conference, meeting on November 7 and 8, 1947, did not contemplate a separation from the C.G.T. It merely decided to work energetically within the C.G.T. "in order to prevent its domination by a political party." The F.O. conference asked for secret balloting in the C.G.T. and proportional representation of the trends thus brought to light.

This thesis was defended in the C.G.T.'s National Committee, which met a few days later, on November 12 and 13. As I wrote in the *Force Ouvrière* issue of January 1, 1948, "this idea was not shared by the majority of the delegates to the National Committee of the C.G.T."

"Was it really felt," I went on to say, "that in circumstances as serious as those which our country is going through at present, and where the decisions of the central trade union organization require a thorough and competent examination of the situation in order to safeguard the workers' interests, we could agree to having a determined line of conduct forced upon us, in part by irresponsible, unorganized elements, by those even who are not familiar with or who even challenge the usefulness of trade union organization?"

"Plainly, frankly, we put the National Committee on guard against such a decision. Despite everything, however, it was taken by the majority of the Communist delegates."

Orders concerning strikes precipitated events. Although it had been decided to consider strike proposals at the C.G.T.'s National Committee meeting set for December 19, strikes broke out almost immediately. Curiously enough, they coincided with the conference of the Big Four foreign ministers in London and the meeting of the American Congress which was to decide on extending economic aid to Europe. As we wrote, the strikes were started to serve the purposes of a political party, the Communist Party, which wanted to influence the London conference.

This was all the clearer as, after the C.G.T. on November 26 asked for an appointment with the Minister of Labor in order to submit demands to him, the government announced the very next day its agreement to a cost-



F.O. men have won many hard fights against French Communists. Outstanding among anti-Stalinists is Pierre Ferri-Pisani (left)

of-living increase in salary of 1,500 francs per month to be granted to all wage-earners in private industry and public office, raising of family allowances and an examination of the overall labor situation relative to salaries, prices and currency.

Obviously these concessions did not fully satisfy the needs of the working class, and we made this publicly known to the government. At the same time we rejected unjustified curbing measures. We felt, however, that the negotiations should continue and that a "generalization of strikes might pave the way to an adventure for which no militant trade unionist could accept the responsibility."

Whenever the trade unionists were democratically consulted, the vast majority of them objected to extreme action, but, scorning democratic procedures, the National Committee on Strikes—more anxious to serve the Cominform than to advance the interests of French workers—called on the strikers to do more. An order for a general strike was issued. This was carried out to a very limited extent, but acts of sabotage and outrage were committed. Public opinion was uneasy; the working class showed clear signs of confusion and disintegration.

We made efforts to continue to negotiate with the government, while stating our unshakable opposition to laws of exception, and we obtained improvements which were not negligible in the governmental proposals. Despite the bluster and the lies of the National Committee on Strikes, it became necessary on December 9 to give the order for a "tactical withdrawal." The workers who had been on strike resumed work on the same

terms as those which had been offered on November 30, and which had been turned down by those who were speaking on their behalf.

The test was at an end, but the damage had been done. The labor movement came out of the venture battered. Workers deserted the ranks of the C.G.T. by the thousands. This was their way of registering disapproval of methods which operated against their interests and against their dignity.

We had always told those on whom we called to join our ranks that they would determine themselves the actions to be taken by their unions for the defense of their just claims. No workers could blindly accept decisions over which they and their own unions had no control.

It was necessary for labor to take its bearings. To this end the Force Ouvrière held a conference on December 18 and 19, 1947.

Democratic trade unionists came to denounce in pathetic fashion the abuse and persecution to which they and those who shared their ideas of free trade unionism had been subjected. They demanded a denunciation of the policy of permitting the political party of a foreign power to make the decisions of the French trade union movement.

The delegates then decided to re-establish a central trade union organization animated by the democratic spirit which the C.G.T. had kept alive in the French working class for so many years, leaving the magnificent establishment on the Rue Lafayette, built by the workers' dues payments, and leaving also the daily newspaper *Le Peuple*, established by them and



F.O. men talk things over. These and other F.O. members all have the traditional French love of liberty, hatred of slavery

which, as a result of their efforts, had become an organ of prime importance.

Conscious of their duty and of their loyalty to the ideal of freedom, they created the Force Ouvrière.

TWO great principles animated the workers who had just decided to set up a new French trade union central organization. These were respect for democracy within the organization and absolute independence of trade unionism from all political or religious powers. These two principles made the Force Ouvrière the only labor organization corresponding exactly to the traditional position of French trade unionism.

The C.G.T. continued unconditionally to align itself with the arguments and the attitude of the Cominform. The Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (French Confederation of Christian Workers) affirmed in its very title—which does not in any way destroy its democratic foundations—that its aspirations coincided with the Christian philosophy and, to be more precise, with the program of social Catholicism.

Needless to say, the creation of the Force Ouvrière aroused the greatest interest throughout the working class. F.O. unions were immediately set up in every department of the country without exception. National organizations, such as the National

Instructors Union, decided to retain their autonomy but they clearly indicated by leaving the C.G.T. that they approved the decision of the F.O. and made the latter's arguments their own.

The formal establishment of the Force Ouvrière dealt an irreparable blow to the dictatorship which the French Communist Party had attempted to impose upon French labor through trade unionists obedient to Communist directives.

No doubt the C.G.T. will continue to be in a position to claim that it is the trade union central which distributes the greatest number of cards. A great deal might be said about its recruiting procedures and actual payment of dues.

At any rate, it has been perfectly clear in the past three years that the C.G.T. represents only a fraction of the French working class. A trade union writer in April, 1951, was able to write, based upon his observation of undeniable facts:

"For a strike order to be carried out, it is necessary that the F.O. issue and approve it. In an enterprise in which the C.G.T.K."—an abbreviation which today is widely used to indicate that the C.G.T. has given its allegiance to the Cominform—"is ten times stronger than F.O., a strike exclusively C.G.T.-inspired will never involve even one-third of the effective forces of the C.G.T. On the other

hand, a strike order by the Force Ouvrière will involve the majority of the enterprise."

The creation of the Force Ouvrière corresponded, in the realm of trade union principles, to a truly historic need. It connected present-day trade unionism with the trade unionism of the end of the Nineteenth Century and with the all-time French trade unionism.

But if general principles are necessary for any social organization and do in some way constitute its civil status, its essential characteristics, they must also be put into concrete form by way of a coherent program. A labor movement cannot limit itself to defending individual and limited claims. In order to be worthy of its historic role, we hold that labor must take it upon itself to conceive structural changes of society.

The French C.G.T., when it was ours, proved as long ago as 1920 that it was fully conscious of its task when it developed the idea of nationalizing industry. This the so-called revolutionaries ridiculed very vociferously. When the will of the workers later forced them to adopt the idea, they did so, but they were determined to take advantage of nationalization for their own selfish political purposes, not to use it for the benefit of the nation.

In contrast, those persons who gave life to the Force Ouvrière indicated as early as January, 1948, that they intend to support all legitimate claims upon careful analysis of the economic situation.

The issue of January 22, 1948, of the official Force Ouvrière journal published the F.O.'s inaugural manifesto. Four headings stood out clearly, "Stabilization," "Marshall Plan," "Increase in Production Through Modernization" and "Fair Income Distribution."

By way of comment I wrote:

"When we first say 'Stabilization' we are thinking of the purchasing power of salaries which must be protected at all cost by resisting the terrible threat of inflation which is hanging over our country.

"To offer this resistance the working class must assume joint responsibility for the entire nation, especially the economically weaker elements, people who have to live on small retirement annuities, etc. * * * That economic and monetary stabilization

must put a stop to the tragic spiral which might lead us into bankruptcy, throwing the republic wide open to the most brutal reaction.

"But the effectiveness of such a policy of public welfare could be insured only by an increased production effort. Increased production depends upon the implementation of the modernization and equipment plan. Without an overhauling of our industrial and agricultural equipment, it is impossible to hope for any progress.

"But [there can be] no Monnet Plan without a plan for American aid to Europe, for modernization and equipment require financial aid and the importation of everything that is lacking in our economy—raw materials, machinery, products and commodities of all types which only that American aid, together with all possible contributions; can bring us.

"When we ask for a more equitable distribution of the national income, we remain loyal to the old basic claim of the labor movement. The pursuit of social justice remains the justification for our existence.

"When a large portion of the fruits of labor is being cornered between production and consumption at the needless relay points of irrational distribution, we are justified in demanding a fairer distribution of the over-all income by doing away with parasitic activities, especially those of excess middlemen. But in 1948, in a society impoverished and bled by two world wars, it is not only the reform of the rules governing the distribution of wealth created by the people's labor that can resolve the social problems. There must also be an increase in the total wealth to be distributed.

"The national income must therefore not only be distributed in the best possible way, but it must also be considerably increased in order to meet the tremendous requirements which are characteristic of our day and age. That is why the modernization and equipment of enterprises must be completed by an ever more rational organization of labor looking toward an ever-growing productivity."

Since then we have never ceased to be faithful to that program which is both doctrinal and immediate, and our entire action has been inspired by this triptych: fight against a catastrophic inflation by a decrease in or at least a stabilization of prices; increase in and rationalization of pro-

duction; equitable distribution of the products of the national effort. The latter two points are the major points of support.

As a matter of fact, when, for example, we are eagerly defending social security, when we not only demand its continuation but propose its generalization, we are acting in the sense of more equitable redistribution of the national income, and when we declare ourselves in favor of the Schuman Plan all we are doing is to extend in Europe the implementation of our principle of rational increase in production by a judicious and concerted use of raw materials and more particularly of two basic products, coal and steel.

We have likewise taken a stand in favor of an international distribution organization designed to offset the drawbacks caused by a world shortage of certain raw materials.

For the past three and one-half years the action of the Force Ouvrière has been the only consistent trade union action and the only action inspired exclusively by the desire immediately to improve the lot of the French workers and to build a more rational, fairer and freer society.

The year 1948 saw the F.O. take up the price fight and exert heavy pressure upon the government. Enough time has now gone by to judge the results of our efforts. The cost-of-living index stood at 1520 at the beginning of February, 1948, (index 100 in 1938); it reached 1530 in July, 1948. This, of course, was not a decline, but it meant stabilization.

The month of April, 1948, was marked by the first convention of the F.O. It met in Paris at the Salle de la Mutualité, with 1,435 delegates attending. They determined the program of the F.O. and elected its steering bodies. I was elected president [chairman] and Robert Bothe-reau was the secretary-general.

In the speech which I delivered in the course of the convention and which met with unanimous approval, I clearly declared myself in favor of the unification of Europe, and since then the Force Ouvrière has consistently led the fight for peace by a rational organization of Europe and of the world and through effective solidarity among the nations in respect of the principles of democracy and respect for the dignity of man.

In 1949 we fought for a return to free discussion of wages within the framework of collective agreements. Since the preceding summer the government had proved its inability to enforce price stabilization. In its defense it is necessary to state that Parliament had—without, however, daring to take a clear-cut stand in favor of economic liberalism—repudiated the policy of direction of the economy and even the policy of simple controls. Agricultural prices, except the price of wheat, and industrial prices were practically uncontrolled while, on the other hand, wages remained fixed by Ministerial decrees whose contradictions and inconsistencies, on top of everything, were no longer even counted.

The working people were bearing



A. F. of L.'s own George P. Delaney (left) sits in with the noted leader of French labor and a French government man



Workers' education is being pushed by Force Ouvrière. John Connors of A. F. of L. (third from left) calls at F.O. school

the brunt of the serious consequences of that difference in treatment. To use a picturesque expression that has become commonplace: "Prices were free to use the elevator, but the government forced wages to use the stairway."

The fight for justice was a long one. The keynote for the return to collective bargaining, which was sounded on December 23, 1948, in the manifesto of the first anniversary of the establishment of the Force Ouvrière, was further defined on January 27, 1949, and the law freeing wages was enacted twelve months later, on February 11, 1950. It was still necessary to act energetically during the ensuing six months to get the decree which on August 23, 1950, fixed guaranteed minimum wages.

The principal objective which the Force Ouvrière set as its goal for 1950 would itself require a complete study because it involved the defense of the social security system. Our organization plunged into that fight with all its strength. Social insurance was conceived by us long ago in the C.G.T., at a time when its present leaders were bitterly denouncing both its principles and its implementation and when the defenders of capitalism were launching against it attacks which have never ceased. We know that the fight will be a hot one, but we are prompted by the conviction that social security, along with nationalization, is one of the roads that will lead the French working class to its liberation. Social security already affords the working class the possibility of assuaging the privations

which sickness and old-age entail.

We left the C.G.T. in order to protest against the hand which was being placed upon it by a political party whose allegiance has been pledged to a foreign nation and to insure the independence of trade unionism. We all have reason to be satisfied with the results up to now. Our departmental labor unions and our industrial federations are full of initiative.

They include more than 1,000,000 wage-earners and inspire the fight which the French working class is waging for the improvement of its material position.

The Force Ouvrière has broken the rule of the Communist Party. Since the inception of the F.O. the influence of the Communists has been on the wane. This has been one of the characteristic features of the years 1949, 1950 and 1951.

But we shall not have accomplished anything until the French working class is once again imbued with the two truths that "there is no supreme savior" and that "producers must save themselves."

Since we participated in the historic founding of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions we have made a place for ourselves in the worldwide fight for liberty and peace. Our brotherly cooperation with the other free labor movements will be constant.

We of the Force Ouvrière shall remain faithful to the conception of courage defined by our great Jaurès: "Courage means to seek the truth, and to tell the truth means not to fall under the rule of the lie."

WE SALUTE THE DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM



ARMED FORCES DAY
MAY 19



Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U.'s new regional organization for the Americas meets in Havana

Labor Around the Globe

ARGENTINA

Dictator Juan Peron is persecuting the leaders of legitimate maritime and river employees' unions. The government's puppet, the General Confederation of Labor, has ousted the duly elected officers of the unions. Peron has put so-called "administrators" in charge of the organizations. Persecution of labor has gone to the extreme of depriving leaders of the 1950 maritime strike of the opportunity to work for a living.

CHINA

Chinese privateers have been making violent attacks on Japanese fishing vessels operating in the East China Sea. In a series of incidents, peaceful Japanese fishermen have been fired upon, their vessels seized and towed into Chinese ports and their crews abducted. Reports on the piratical activities have been filed with the International Transport Workers Federation by the All-Japan Seamen's Union.

COLOMBIA

Sizable wage increases and other benefits have been won by unions affiliated with the Union de Trabajadores de Colombia as the result of strikes against the Colombian Petroleum Company and the Colombian Rubber Company.

GERMANY

A mass meeting convened in Frankfurt by the German Railwaymen's Union adopted a resolution assailing unfair treatment of the employees of the German Federal Railways. Unless a new economic course is set by the government, the railroad workers said, inflation, lowered living standards and misery will result. It was urged that the

economic program submitted to the government by the German Trade Union Federation should form the basis of a new economic policy.

ISRAEL

Axel Strand, leader of a visiting Swedish trade union delegation, addressed a farewell reception given by the Executive Committee of the Histadrut, the Israeli Federation of Labor. "Sweden will do all it can to help Israel tackle the problems confronting her," Mr. Strand pledged. "We have seen pulsating life and a creative spirit everywhere, and we have been very much impressed by the share of the Histadrut and the cooperative movement in the work."

ITALY

The recent cost-of-living "sliding scale" wage increase won by industrial workers

has taken a lot of steam out of Italy's Communists. Giulio Pastore, general secretary of the Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions (C.I.S.L.), believes the country will avoid a wave of strikes similar to the one that occurred in France. The C.I.S.L. is fighting for "an active voice for labor in the political economy," Signor Pastore recently told an A. F. of L. News Service correspondent in Rome.

SWEDEN

Substantially higher pay rates have been won by the Navigating Officers Union and the Engineer Officers Union. The agreements are made retroactive to February 1. In addition to establishing improved pay rates, the Engineer Officers' agreement calls for an increase in the seniority allowance paid to chief engineers after fourteen years of service with a company.



Danish labor-employer productivity committee holds a meeting

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Division 713, Street and Electric Railway Employees, has added to its rolls all drivers of the Yellow Bus Lines, which provides suburban transit service in Shelby County, Tenn. The men voted 100 per cent for membership in the A. F. of L. union.

►A. F. of L. theater janitors, members of the Building Service Employees Union, have won their demand for a 10 per cent wage increase after a strike against forty-seven Central California theaters.

►District 49, Machinists, has obtained a new contract calling for wage increases of 5 to 12 cents an hour for members employed at the Phoenix, Ariz., branch of Goodyear Aircraft.

►The A. F. of L. Licensed Tugmen and the Great Lakes Towing and Wrecking Company have signed a new contract at Duluth, Minn., calling for a 15-cent hourly wage increase.

►Local 563, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, has won a general wage increase of 5 per cent as a result of negotiations with Celotex Corporation, Lagro, Ind.

►Local 289, Bakery Workers, has signed its initial contract with Stock's Potato Chip Company, Reading, Pa. Its provisions include an across-the-board pay boost.

►Local 175, Ladies' Garment Workers, reports pay boosts of 5 to 11 cents an hour for members employed by the Walter A. Goldsmith Company, Conneaut, Ohio.

►Local 16, Laborers, and the Southern Union Gas Company, Albuquerque, N. M., have agreed upon a new contract calling for a 10 per cent increase.

►Local 391, U.A.W.-A. F. of L., has reached agreement with the Webster Electric Company, Racine, Wis., on a pay hike.

►Local 1025, Retail Clerks, has secured a 10-cent hourly wage increase for Kroger clerks in Danville, Ill.

►Local 172, Chemical Workers, has reached agreement with the Hobbs Glass Company, London, Ont., on a contract which cuts two and one-half hours from the workweek with no loss in income. The pact increases wages 12 cents an hour.

►Local 3, Upholsterers, reports acceptance of the 10 per cent wage increase offer made to the union for workers in the tent and awning division by the San Francisco Employers Council and an independent group.

►Local 219, Bakery Drivers, was authorized to seek a union shop in its contract with the Brecht Candy Company, Denver, when employees voted in favor of the union shop, 51 to 19, in an N.L.R.B. election.

►Local 112, Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen, has signed an improved contract with the Chapman Valve Manufacturing Company, Springfield, Mass., which provides higher pay rates.

►Local 871, State, County and Municipal Employees, has won all standard union conditions for Lawrenceburg, Ind., city employees, in addition to gaining for them a 15 per cent hourly wage increase in their first contract.

►Fifty employees of the Nathan Brody Company, North Hollywood, Calif., have received wage increases of \$3 to \$4.25 a week as a result of organization of that coat contracting factory by the Los Angeles Cloak Joint Board of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

►Federal Labor Union 24778 and the No-Sag Spring Company, Kendallville, Ind., have reached agreement on a new pact calling for six paid holidays annually and an increase in wages.

*Wear a Buddy Poppy
on Memorial Day*

►Local 58, Typographical Union, has signed a new agreement with Portland, Ore., daily newspaper publishers providing for a \$5 weekly wage boost.

►Local 465, Electrical Workers, has obtained cost-of-living wage increases for members employed by the San Diego Gas and Electric Company.

►Local 114, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has won a union shop election conducted by the N.L.R.B. at the Columbia Woolen Mills, Columbia City, Ind.



Dr. Ralph Bunche (second from left) and William Green receive citations for service from League for Industrial Democracy

▶A survey of the extent of heart and circulatory diseases among union members has been initiated by the American Heart Association. A questionnaire has been mailed to all international unions. The information gathered from labor will lay the basis for studies of heart disease in industry throughout the country.

▶Local 11, Printing Pressmen, scored a victory when employees in the letterpress department of Ditto Press, Inc., Cincinnati, voted overwhelmingly for the union in an N.L.R.B. election. The union is now negotiating a contract with the employer.

▶Local 1265, Retail Clerks, has completed negotiations with some sixty shoe and clothing stores in Alameda County, California, and gained a 10 per cent wage increase for about 600 workers employed by these stores.

▶Local 243, Office Employees, has secured wage boosts of \$13 to \$14 monthly for members who are employed at Golden State and Carnation, milk companies operating in Richmond, Calif.

▶Local 142, Plumbers, has reached an agreement with the Associated Plumbing Contractors in San Antonio, Texas, calling for a wage increase of 12½ cents an hour.

▶Local 156, Motion Picture Operators, I.A.T.S.E., has secured a weekly raise of \$5.25 for its members who are working at the Skyway and Dixie drive-in theaters, Danville, Ill.

▶Local 167, Plasterers, has concluded negotiations with seven major contractors in El Paso, Texas, winning a new pay rate of \$2.75 an hour.

▶Local 464, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, reached accord with the Hershey Estates, Hershey, Pa., on a pay increase after a three-day strike.

▶Local 981, Retail Clerks, and the Furniture Dealers Association, Cincinnati, have reached agreement on a weekly wage raise of \$3.50 to \$5.

▶Four thousand members of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers have gained higher hourly wages in an agreement signed at Oakland, Calif.



The officers and representatives of Federal Labor Union 22804 at Springfield, Mass. Union has just marked its tenth anniversary

▶Some 3,000 members of the Operating Engineers in Colorado, New Mexico and West Texas are now receiving the second installment on staggered pay boosts, an increase of 10 cents an hour. A previous 10-cent hourly boost took effect last July and the Engineers will receive an additional 5 cents later.

▶Local 66, Milk Wagon Drivers, Seattle, has approved an offer from the Dairy Foundation of a 12½-cent hourly wage boost and a health and welfare plan.

▶Local 282, Meat Cutters, has reached an accord with the Libby, McNeil and Libby canning plant at Ocala, Fla., calling for a wage increase of 10 per cent.

▶Newly organized A. F. of L. unions in Michigan sugar plants have easily won N.L.R.B. elections at Sebewaing, Alma and Caro.

▶Division 1256, Street and Electric Railway Employees, has won higher pay in a contract with the El Paso (Texas) City Lines.

▶Painters of District Council 12, Cincinnati, are signing employers to a new contract providing an hourly increase of 11 cents.

▶Local 23, Technical Engineers, has won a union representation election conducted by the N.L.R.B. at the Wagner Electric Company in St. Louis.

▶Local 126, Butcher Workmen, has obtained a weekly pay increase and a health and welfare plan after a walkout.

▶Members of the Machinists employed by the city of St. Louis have gained wage increases of 10 per cent.

▶Agreements providing 10 per cent pay increases for some 1,500 workers in the metal trades employed in the Portland, Ore., area are in the process of being ratified by the unions.

▶The Upholsterers have negotiated a contract with the Huntington Furniture Company, Huntingburg, Ind., calling for a 10-cent hourly wage increase.

▶Local 1207, Laborers, has obtained a wage hike for its 600 members in Tampa, Fla., as the result of collective bargaining with the Associated General Contractors.

▶Workers at the Florentine Company, Cincinnati, have voted 100 per cent for U.A.W.-A. F. of L. representation in an election conducted by the N.L.R.B.

▶Local 624, Laborers, reports the signing of a new agreement with the Allied Builders of Danville, Ill., which provides hourly wage increases of 14½ to 16 cents.

▶Local 850, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has presented a new piano to the Percy Jones U.S. Army Hospital at Battle Creek, Mich.

▶A cost-of-living increase has been obtained by 6,000 members of the Distillery Workers in Kentucky.

▶Local 452, Painters, has secured a wage increase for members employed in West Palm Beach, Fla.

▶Local 538, Electrical Workers, have upped their scale in Danville, Ill., to \$2.50 an hour.

▶Local 109, Butcher Workmen, and employers in Tucson, Ariz., have agreed on a weekly increase of \$4.30.

A Review and a Warning

(Continued from Page 12)

stances were built with the expectation that they would pay for themselves if they were successful in making one or two trips.

The day of the convoy is gone. We cannot afford to risk either our troops or our commerce in slow and antiquated vessels. The choice is not ours but is being forced upon us by the rapid development on the part of foreign nations of ever faster and faster commercial and war vessels.

It has been contended that private operators and builders cannot hope, from their own resources, to build and operate these vessels at a profit without some inducement from the government. This being true, it is the obligation and duty of the government to aid these operators through subsidies, grants or other privileges which will enable them to compete on an equal basis with foreign ship operating and shipbuilding companies. Every other major nation in the world subsidizes its ship operating and shipbuilding companies to a much greater

extent than the United States does.

There is another most essential reason why we must keep an ever-expanding merchant marine, and that is manpower. A merchant marine is only as strong as its operating personnel, and we cannot afford to have idle ship operating forces. Men will no longer remain "on the beach" waiting to be assigned to a vessel when other attractive employment is available. It is essential that jobs be provided for these men, or the cost of training new workers will far exceed the provisions being made for those already trained. This will affect not only the operating personnel but also the shipbuilding and ship repair mechanic.

The shipbuilding and ship repair industry at its peak employed in excess of 1,500,000 persons. This was exclusive of those employed in the naval shipyards of the country. Today, on the three coasts and the inland waterways, there are approximately 54,000 employed in this industry. This means that the great bulk of

trained shipbuilding workers and ship repairmen have gone into other industries. Should another emergency develop, this is not a sufficient number to serve as a nucleus to train the thousands of additional employees that will be necessary.

The Metal Trades Department has long affirmed that shipbuilding and ship repair work is essential to keep a reasonable number of skilled mechanics in training and available for ship construction and repair work. Also, there must be an equal distribution of new construction and repair yards on the respective coasts of the nation. We cannot afford, during any national emergency, to have complete concentration of yards or manpower in any one area.

If the United States is to retain its place as the leading nation of the world, one of its most important assets is a strong merchant marine, adequately manned, reinforced by shipbuilding and ship repair yards employing skilled shipbuilding and ship repair mechanics in sufficient numbers to assure us of a merchant fleet commensurate with our standing among the nations of the world.

Labor and Defense in Britain

(Continued from Page 26)

encourage part-time work, including evening shifts. On elderly workers the changes needed go deeper. Here it is a question of traditional attitudes often fixed in legislation or superannuation rules.

Before World War II the unions, faced with heavy unemployment among their members, sought some mitigation through a progressive lowering of retirement ages. A number of industries have compulsory retirement ages. Such policies are no longer in keeping with the country's economic and employment position.

The Advisory Council to the Minister of Labor has recommended wider relaxations of automatic retirement ages and the attraction of retired workers back into employment on a part-time basis.

In industries where retirement is not compulsory, many firms have recently continued to employ workers beyond normal retiring age—varying from 60 to 65—but have been less

willing to engage workers over 50 who have become unemployed elsewhere. They have been urged to change this policy, and in any case they will be led to do so by the labor shortage.

Government training centers, which have been running below capacity since resettlement of World War II soldiers was completed, will be brought up to strength to provide basic, general instruction for women entering industry for the first time or returning to it after some years.

The deficiency in the higher engineering skills—turners, millers, capstan setters—must be made good, says the Advisory Council, by training within each firm. The larger firms already provide such training.

A number of agreements were made by unions during the war permitting this dilution of skilled processes and accepting women into what were previously men's jobs. Some of these agreements are still in force. Where they have lapsed, the unions have been

asked to grant relaxations again.

Other European countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have their defense commitments and may also be short of skilled labor for munitions making. However, if they should have unemployed skilled workers who wish to work in Britain, there would be readiness to examine proposals for mutual advantage.

All industries in Britain, whether or not engaged on defense contracts, are examining agreements on hours of work. No change is envisaged in the normal week of 44 or 45 hours, but some trades have been asked for revisions to permit more flexibility on overtime. It is, however, fully recognized that systematic overtime over long periods defeats its object because of resulting fatigue.

The Trades Union Congress has again urged all workers to make fuller use of the Employment Service by registering for new work in advance of discharge. It has also asked unions with their own employment agencies to cooperate with the public placement service in persuading members to choose those vacant jobs which are most essential for defense.

To the Workers of All Nations

PEACE can be made secure only when the human beings in the totalitarian countries "regain control over their own destinies." Peace is menaced today solely by the Communist imperialists. The trade unionists of the world have the power to defeat Soviet aggression and maintain peace.

These points were highlighted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in its May Day proclamation, issued from the I.C.F.T.U.'s headquarters in Brussels. The American Federation of Labor and other free labor groups around the world belong to the I.C.F.T.U. The text of the proclamation follows:

Today the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sends fraternal greetings to its 53,000,000 members in sixty different countries and once more brings to the working people of all lands its May Day message of international solidarity in pursuit of peace, freedom and social justice.

The International Confederation is no mere propaganda agency. In Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas our regional organizations—already established or in process of formation—are working ceaselessly to translate our economic and social demands into action, backed up by the whole weight of our powerful worldwide movement. "Each for all and all for each"—that time-honored trade union principle is now being applied on a really international scale.

Workers of all lands, workers in field and factory, in mine and office, in trade and transport! Join us in our mighty movement to abolish poverty and hunger, ignorance and disease, privilege and exploitation. **PEACE—FREEDOM—SOCIAL JUSTICE**

These are our goals. Yet astride the road that leads to each stands the ugly specter of dictatorship.

Trade unionists of the world! You have

the power to maintain peace and to defeat the aggressors. Stand four-square by the United Nations. Away with the shameless fraud of the Stockholm appeal and other Cominform maneuvers, which seek to paralyze the defensive will of the democracies in face of the aggressive plans of Soviet imperialism.

Back up our demands for the early conclusion of peace treaties with Austria,

rising standard of living for all workers, for their right to a full say in the shaping of economic and social policy, for the pooling of the productive forces of the world and the extension of material and technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas. As an urgent measure we demand prompt and generous international aid to stave off disaster in famine-stricken regions.

These are our plans for a better future

May Day Message of the I.C.F.T.U.

Germany and Japan; for the immediate release of all prisoners of war still detained by Soviet Russia and the satellites, in defiance of written pledges and elementary human rights.

We declare, however, that peace will never finally be secure until the peoples condemned to silence in the dictatorship countries regain control over their own destinies.

Workers of all lands! Support us in our fight for democracy and the right of self-determination for all the peoples of the world. In that fight we will join hands with all men of good will seeking the same ends.

Workers of the totalitarian states! We have not forgotten you, nor those millions of our comrades imprisoned in the slave labor camps of Stalin, Franco and other dictators.

We shall never relax our efforts until concentration camps are abolished once and for all from the face of the earth.

The dictators have not only trampled freedom underfoot in their own countries but through fifth-column activities, armed terrorism and civil war have brought it into jeopardy everywhere.

Workers of the industrially advanced democratic countries! Thanks to your free trade unions, you enjoy a degree of well-being undreamed of in the dictatorship lands. Nevertheless, we aim at an ever-

for all. Yet all our hopes—aye, and many of our achievements, too—are imperiled by the ever-present danger of war. To safeguard the democratic way of life the free peoples are now compelled to devote more and more of their resources to defense. We demand fair sharing of these new and grievous burdens. We insist on the rational planning and controls needed to avert inflation. But responsibility for any avoidable lowering of living standards we place squarely where it belongs—at the door of the Soviet dictators, who alone menace the peace of the world.

Workers of the free and democratic world! Your peace, your freedom, your hopes for a fuller and better life are all at stake. By smashing the dictators' foothold in the democratic countries let us make a start on eradicating this evil from the world. We have the power to do it. And do it we shall!

Today we are 53,000,000 strong. Let us raise that figure to 100,000,000. One hundred million freely organized workers, dedicated to the winning and upholding of **PEACE, FREEDOM and SOCIAL JUSTICE** everywhere—that is a moral and material force which no dictator could withstand.

Workers of the world! Join us in this noble task!

Long live the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions!

The Russian Underground

(Continued from Page 16)

"We promise to help you secure political conditions under which you can organize free trade unions and gain the benefits which our free unions have brought to us.

"We pledge that we will help you in your efforts to achieve freedom."

Armed with messages of this kind from labor, the Russian underground can strike a telling blow at communism behind the Iron Curtain.

Swift action by free citizens can still make it possible to defeat the slavery of communism without the tragic destruction of an atomic war. Russian freedom will bring freedom to Poles, Czechs and other oppressed nationalities and peace to the whole world.

Organized labor can do a big job in the battle to wipe out communism from within. Here is an opportunity

for labor to add to the reputation for statesmanship it gained in the victorious crusade against fascism.

The underground movement is working hard and it is proud of its achievements up to now. But much more can be accomplished if the movement to bring liberty to Russians who want to be free is given some help. In this great effort to put an end to the enslavement of the Russian people by Stalin there is no group that can give more effective help than free and democratic labor.

WHAT THEY SAY

William L. McFetridge, president, Building Service Employees International Union—



When one of our local unions sponsored an institute on building management and operations, certain parts of the press were quick to jeer.

"Schools for janitors?" they scoffed. "What next?" But the institute, and others like it, have demonstrated that training and learning are not wisely limited to doctors and lawyers and other professional people. The man who takes an interest in his work and takes time to learn about it is a better worker and a better partner in the productive system we call free and competitive enterprise. As democracy progresses, we move on to new frontiers of service and development. That is why our union has taken a foremost position in the ranks of labor for its emphasis on local union participation in community life. The days when concern over the working conditions in a building or factory or industry was the limit of the labor union horizon have passed. Today labor unions are citizens of the community and, like any other citizen, are charged with responsibilities and duties as well as given rights and privileges.

Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor—The American construction



worker is the fellow the country is counting on to build the new defense plants, military bases, training camps and defense housing that are needed before the de-

fense program can get into full swing. With the building industry already operating at virtually full capacity, there are going to have to be some adjustments to enable it to take on the big defense job that's ahead. Although construction in the first three

months of this year ran ahead of last year, it is not anticipated that the total dollar volume of both defense and non-defense construction in 1951 will reach the \$27,000,000,000 record set in 1950. A large part of the drop will be in residential construction. On the other hand, industrial construction and military construction are due to increase substantially. The defense program will require a great deal of movement by construction workers. Defense construction projects are sometimes located in remote areas. As defense construction picks up, the unions can play a major part in helping to direct their members to the new job openings.

George C. Marshall, Secretary of Defense—I strongly endorse the pro-



gram for the selective placement of physically handicapped persons in industry and government. We are engaged in a great preparedness effort. Military strength

is a compound of men, money and munitions, and of the three the first is by far the most vital. By men I mean men of training and discipline in our armed forces and men of skill and talent in their support. Such men may not be endowed with all the physical qualifications that we require of the combat soldier. But their capabilities are strong weapons in our arsenal of democracy and reliable tools in our productive economy which we must exploit fully. We are using such physically handicapped men and women in many industries to replace those who have joined the services and to take up positions made necessary by the increased need for production. In the armed services we have thousands of disabled persons, especially veterans, on civilian jobs and in certain categories of military assignments. Their work habits and their attendance records have proved at least equal in production and dependability to those of the non-handicapped. The physically han-

dicapped can contribute to the economic and military strength of our country. It is not only good business to employ them. It is the human way.

Lincoln Evans, secretary, Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, Great



Britain—Little did we dream in 1945 that in 1951 this country would again have to prepare itself to be ready to defend its way of life against as great a menace

as that which threatened it in 1939. If those who shout the loudest for peace really meant it, what a difference it would make. One gesture from Russia today which had an ounce of sincerity behind it would completely transform the whole international atmosphere. In the absence of that there are so many signs of her real intentions that it would be suicidal for the democratic countries not to take the necessary steps to secure their own safety. No price that we may be called upon to pay is too high to escape the enslavement that a victory for Russian Communist imperialism would surely mean.

Herbert H. Lehman, Senator from New York—In my opinion, the ma-



majority of the rank and file of Republicans are as deeply interested in liberal government as those of my own party. My quarrel is with the leaders, who have been all

these years, as they are now, deaf to the needs of the people. We of the Democratic Party have fought for constructive and humane laws, sometimes for years, against bitter opposition. We did so from a profound conviction that democracy can be made unassailable only if our citizens were convinced that their government had a genuine concern for their welfare, for their civil rights and for their dignity as individuals. I know that some critics of government do not like the things we have done. Most of these critics do not understand that public processes stem from and are tied to community growth.

Union Label Ladies

THERE are ever so many new things I would like to have this spring," remarked Mrs. Adams to her next-door neighbor, Mrs. Cantrell.

"Me, too," said Mrs. Cantrell, who had dropped in for their usual morning cup of coffee together.

"But there are ever so many things I won't get," Mrs. Adams said, "with prices the way they are."

"And going higher all the time."

Just then they were interrupted by six-year-old Charlotte, Mrs. Cantrell's daughter.

"Mama, I have six more pies to sell. How many do you want?"

"How much are they?" asked her mother.

"If they're not too high, I might get a couple," said Mrs. Adams, joining in the game.

"Oh, they're *expensive*," said the little girl seriously. "I've used only the best mud and sand."

"And did you make them all by yourself?" asked Mrs. Adams.

"No, Ronnie and Lonnie helped me. I'm baby-sitting with them while their mama is at the grocery store spending all her money. They are in my sand-box right now. Mama, do you want some good pies?"

"I'll take two," said Mrs. Adams, and she invited Charlotte to take a pocketful of cookies in payment.

This pleased the little girl, and she asked for a few extra ones for her helpers.

"Thank you," said Charlotte, backing out. "I'll deliver your pies right away."

"What a honey child she is," said Mrs. Adams, looking after the little form hurrying across the yard. "And so smart! Wasn't she cute when she said Mrs. Brandon was at the grocery 'spending all her money'?"

"And how right she is! At least, I seem to spend all *our* money just getting food and the necessary things. That's why I don't suppose I'll get the other things I'd like to have—and things we really do need in a way."

"Which puts us right back where we started," said Mrs. Adams, getting

up to refill the cups. "By the way, did you notice the good work of the auxiliary in the Union Label drive? They've done a wonderful job. And Alice Bantam certainly should be congratulated on her idea and for getting it carried through so well."

"You're right about that," agreed Mrs. Cantrell. "When she suggested that we get our local merchants and contractors and business people to observe Union Label Week and tie it in with the Union Industries Show at Chicago, she really had a good idea."

"And how she has worked! Alice has been on the go day and night, meeting people, speaking before groups and getting other women to do the same. She even had me make a talk about it at my club meeting."

"She made a swell talk on the radio night before last," Mrs. Cantrell said. "And she is on again tomorrow morning. She told me the other day that nearly every merchant who carries union-made goods is going to feature it during the week of the show and also that several have said they would carry union label merchandise as special sale items."

Mrs. Adams glanced out the window.

"I think our pies are being delivered. Here come the three of them, and Sue is bringing up the rear."

She opened the kitchen door for the little parade.

"Come in, Sue," Mrs. Adams said to Mrs. Brandon. "Hello, young bakers. Please deliver the pies on the porch. Thank you. Here, wait a minute, Charlotte. I have this old cookie sheet for you to put them on."

Mrs. Adams gave the child the tin. The pies were safely put down, although they were somewhat crumbly.

"They are very come-apart-y," remarked Lonnie.

"They don't taste as good as your cookies," said Ronnie.

"No, they don't, and the ones you gave us are all gone," said Charlotte.

"There are plenty more," said Mrs. Adams. "Sue, will you pass the cookies out this way, please?"

"Do tell my daughter not to take more than one for each hand," Mrs. Cantrell pleaded.

Soon the three little ones departed, happily munching their cookies.

"Coffee or milk this morning, Sue?" asked Mrs. Adams.

"Milk, please. Thank you, Marcia. Honestly, I hardly know what to buy any more. I do wish prices would get stabilized a little before we go broke."

"Were the vegetables nice this morning?" asked Mrs. Cantrell.

"Beautiful! Thank goodness the kids like them."

"You were off early this morning," said Mrs. Cantrell.

"Well, the boys were so contented playing that I thought, if Charlotte would let them stay, I would take advantage of the free moment and get as much done as I could. Jack left the car this morning so it didn't take long. I want to get back home and finish the beds. I guess they've aired about as long as I can stall on that score and still have them made before lunch."

She stood up to go.

"Snack time tomorrow at my house," said Mrs. Cantrell. "Drop in when you can. Tell the boys there will be a peanut butter sandwich for them."

"They will probably be over to play with Charlotte long before I get there," said Mrs. Brandon. "Thanks for everything. Day after tomorrow it's my turn for company. I promised Alice Bantam I'd help her make some phone calls this afternoon while the twins take their naps. She made me so union label conscious that we actually eat union labels—that is, all the products we can find bearing them. I won't call either of you. I just count on your good judgment to direct you to buy union-made goods, use union services and in every way support the union label."

And she took a gay little bow as she turned to go.

"Wonderful!" said Mrs. Adams. "We're with you. See you tomorrow, Sue, and we'll be wearing union labels."



Building your union is very much in your own interest. If you do your part to make your organization alive and strong, you can look forward to better pay and better working conditions in the future. And also greater security than you enjoy today.

On the other hand, if you neglect your union and it becomes debilitated, you can't expect it to do an effective job for you. What you can expect, if you neglect your union, is economic setbacks and misery.

So, in fairness to yourself and your fellow trade unionists, won't you do your part to help build your union? It isn't hard. Just take a genuine interest in union affairs. Attend your union meetings regularly. Study your union's problems and take part in the discussion. Bring new members into the fold. This is the sensible, practical way to build your union—and it will pay off for you in deep-down satisfaction as well as in dollars and cents.